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ABSTRACT

The conference reported on in this volume had two tasks. One was the development of a policy oriented research agenda for the National Institute of Education (NIE) focused on the educational and occupational needs of black women. The other was the development of a broader research and policy agenda focused on issues beyond the research scope of NIE that other agencies and institutions could undertake. The conference participants were divided into two groups, one composed of practitioners and policy makers and the other of researchers. A report on each group's discussions is presented. Abstracts of conference papers, which dealt with educational, occupational, family and health concerns of black women, are presented. Research and policy recommendations arising from the discussions of the papers are outlined. Appended to the volume is a list of conference participants. (GC)

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CONFERENCE ON THE EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL NEEDS OF BLACK WOMEN

DECEMBER 16-17, 1975

COMPENDIUM

VOLUME 1: OVERVIEW AND RECOMMENDATIONS

APRIL, 1978

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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The barriers to educational and occupational equity for women are nowhere more apparent and poignant than in the context of the minority woman's life. The minority woman -- Black, Hispanic, American Indian, Asian-Pacific Island, and White Ethnic -- faces the double burden of sex and race/ethnic discrimination. Some of the barriers she confronts stem from at least two divergent sets of socialization processes: those within her minority culture and those emanating from the majority milieu. Other obstacles exist for her in the social, economic, legal and political institutions of our heterogeneous society. To compound the problem, many minority women live out their days within the confines of poverty or near poverty.

In view of the very special problems that minority women face, the Women's Research Program at the National Institute of Education has developed a program initiative to address their educational and occupational needs. As an initial step in this programmatic effort, we have held a set of conferences to establish a much-needed dialogue among researchers, practitioners, grass-roots people, activists and policy makers. A major goal of the conference was to establish a policy-oriented research agenda which the Women's Research Program at the National Institute of Education, as well as other agencies and private foundations, could address over the next several years.

Anyone who has coordinated a conference knows it is accomplished through the work, intelligence and advice of many people whose names rarely appear in print. This conference was no exception. Without the help of many colleagues, the conference could not have accomplished its mission. Several individuals made major contributions that gave a special character to the conference. Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm and her staff helped us from the earliest moments of formulation and throughout the entire process. Ms. Shirley Downs, from Congresswoman Chisholm's staff, offered us a largesse of knowledge about issues and people, steered us around many pitfalls, and spent many hours working on the endless details of our project.

Dr. Gloria Scott and Ms. Gladys Handy served as charismatic chairpersons and later as synthesizers of the papers that form the compendium. Dr. Elizabeth Koontz and Dr. Joan Harris were invaluable members of the leadership teams that ran the conference.

The Women's Research Program is indebted to all the devoted, willing and talented people who helped make the conference and the compendium possible. I personally feel privileged to have had the opportunity to work with and learn from them. My firm belief is that the only appropriate way N.I.E. can repay the generosity of all the people who labored in this effort is to address seriously, systematically and swiftly the recommendations at which the conferees arrived. I have every faith that we shall.

Jean Lipman-Blumen, Ph.D.
Head
Women's Research Program

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

> Our job is not only to develop a research agenda for the Women's Research Program of NIE but also to identify research and action priorities for improving the lives of black women in America, priorities toward which the concerns of agencies, institutions, and scholars--particularly black female scholars--can be directed.

Thirty-one women with recognized expertise in a wide range of disciplines and enterprises met in Washington, D.C., on December 16 and 17, 1975, under the auspices of the Women's Research Program, Educational Equity Group, National Institute of Education (NIE). Their task, as defined by the Women's Research Group, was twofold: (1) to develop a policy-oriented research agenda for NIE focused on the educational and occupational needs of black women, and (2) to develop an even broader-scale research and policy agenda focused on the entire range of issues beyond the research scope of NIE that other agencies and institutions could undertake.

Issues raised in nine background papers prepared by participants and in group discussion of these papers provided the framework within which major concerns were identified. Among these concerns were the need for:

- accurate and comprehensive data sets on black women;
- descriptive studies of the economic status, life styles, and educational and occupational choices of black females;
- studies of how the organizational processes of educational and industrial institutions affect the achievement of black females.

After establishing the overall framework, the participants separated into two groups, roughly divided between "activists" and "researchers," to discuss issues raised in the papers and to develop their recommendations. Each group was led by a Chairperson or a Co-Chairperson.

The recommendations that follow represent a sorting, sifting, and merging of the recommendations reported by the Chairpersons. They are listed in the order of priority indicated by the participants and reflect NIE's expressed desire to be the catalyst for research. Since very little accurate research information on the black female community exists, the majority of recommendations call for theoretical (basic) rather than applied research.

- NIE should conduct a comprehensive review and analysis of existing research related to black women; research reported in publications of the Third World (i.e., underdeveloped nations) should not be neglected in the review. As part of the review process, data bases and data sources covering research on black women should be identified, evaluated, compiled, and made available to other researchers. In future research, the variables of race and sex should be included as standard identifiers in classification schemes.

- NIE should fund a design and research/evaluation effort to determine the extent to which black girls and women are being served by Title IX.

- NIE should conduct a descriptive study of the life cycle of contemporary black women. As a corollary, ethnographic research on black girls and women should be conducted.

- NIE should conduct a long-term (at least three years) comprehensive study of educational institutions, aimed at learning how the organizational processes of these institutions affect black girls and women. Major emphasis should be given to accessibility, recruitment, admissions, retention, and counseling policies, and the effect of federal funding on these policies. For the purpose of this study, the term "educational institutions" includes liberal arts colleges, professional schools, other public and private agencies associated with education, and educational facilities in business/industrial settings.

- NIE should initiate efforts to develop models of black women in multiple roles in educational institutions, with a distinction being made between predominantly black and predominantly white institutions. These efforts should specify procedures for applying the models so developed and should incorporate methods for determining the factors which affect the success of black women. In addition, the models should include methods for assessing the expectations, motivations, and aspirations of black women in different types of educational institutions.

- NIE should conduct research on black women in nontraditional roles (e.g., politician). This research should be of sufficient duration to develop credible statistics, should cover a broad range of nontraditional roles, and should include the major industries. The results should be used to formulate more effective policy to enhance nontraditional roles as potentially fruitful options for black women.

- In cooperation with other appropriate federal agencies, NIE should study the impact of affirmative action programs on black women. This research should focus on job opportunities, salary parity, education, credit, and other specific items that may be deemed appropriate at the time the research is undertaken. The results of this research should be broadly disseminated with the intention of affecting policy in all possible areas and at all possible levels and of giving black women a better understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of affirmative action programs.

- NIE should sponsor a research project of at least three years duration to collect and analyze data on how "credentialing" affects the educational and occupational achievement of black women. As part of this effort, one question that should be investigated is whether promotion for reasons other than merit has more positive than negative results. This project is crucial to black women, since the results will affect their decisions regarding which programs they should or should not support.

Certain criteria for conducting this research were defined by the participants. They are:

- Every precaution should be taken to:

  -minimize the possibility of imprecise data or misinterpretation of results, and

  -preclude yet another group of studies which "blame the victim."

- These research efforts should be under the direct supervision and control of black women.

In addition to these recommendations for research, the participants identified areas of concern which require immediate action on the part of NIE and the Women's Research Program:

- NIE should provide for continued collaboration with and dialogue among the conference participants.

- NIE should examine its own staffing, funding, and review practices to insure that they reflect adequate representation of black women. The Institute should make every effort to place black women in leadership positions within the Institute.

- NIE should monitor and classify appropriately pertinent research provided to the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC). Pertinent research in progress should be identified and announced.

- NIE should compile and update, on a regular basis, an inventory of black women who are conducting research, as well as an inventory of research organizations headed by black women.

In closing, the participants urged NIE to develop a timetable for completing and implementing these research and policy/action recommendations. They also strongly urged that research results and policies/actions related to black women be reflected in NIE's overall mandates and that the results of this research be disseminated broadly to insure maximum effect on other policymakers in federal, state, and local governments, as well as in education and industry.

II. OVERVIEW OF THE CONFERENCE

The National Institute of Education (NIE) was created by the Congress in 1972 to "help solve or alleviate," through research and development, critical problems of American education.

Now in its fifth year, NIE has developed a problem-oriented program that responds to the concerns and needs of educators, the Congress, and the American public. Institute policy is developed by the National Council of Education and Research, a panel of distinguished citizens appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. To focus NIE activities on the most pressing academic and administrative problems in the schools, the Council has identified six areas which form the basis for the Institute's organization: Basic Skills; Education and Work; Finance and Productivity; School Capacity for Problem Solving; Dissemination and Resources; and Educational Equity.

The Women's Research Program, located within the Educational Equity Group, has the overall goal of understanding and seeking solutions to the educational, occupational, and, therefore, the total life inequalities that women face. These inequalities derive from both external and internal factors. Examples of external factors are unequal educational programs and facilities, as well as discriminatory recruitment practices. Internal factors comprise attitudes and motivations that women have internalized as a result of the sexism that exists in the family, in the school, and indeed in most areas of society. Gradually, external barriers are being weakened because of complex social changes, including legislation prohibiting sex discrimination. Nonetheless, more work is needed to understand and deal with the many contributing factors that converge to limit the educational and occupational opportunities of women.

To address the issue of educational and occupational equality for women, the Women's Research Program plans to mount a research program to identify factors contributing to the underrepresentation of minority women in the areas of education and work. In the initial phase of this effort, a series of conferences were held for the purpose of setting research agendas that focus on the concerns of Black, Hispanic, Asian-Pacific, Native American, and White-Ethnic women. This compendium reports on the conference involving black women.

Conference participants were selected from state and federal government agencies, professional associations, research organizations, secondary schools, and academic institutions, both public and private; they represented the fields of law, social sciences, and communications.

At the opening plenary session, the participants formulated a framework for the major issues to be considered in developing a research agenda that would address realistically the educational and occupational needs of black women. The background papers written by nine of the participants provided the basis for identifying the key issues.

The participants then divided into the two small discussion groups, Group I being composed chiefly of "activists" and Group II of "researchers." Each group was led by a Chairperson and a Cochairperson. The highlights from these small-group discussions are given in the Chairpersons' Reports (Sections III and IV).

The following papers constituted the basis of discussion for Group I:*

1. "Baseline Data on Mid-Career Change and Reentry for Black Women," by Beatrice Abel Cossey and Glen O. Toney, presents the the findings of a California study involving a survey of 48 professionals and 58 reentry women. The authors conclude that administrators and counselors have little understanding of the problems confronting black women in training programs designed to help them change careers or to reenter the labor force. Traditional programs are deficient in meeting the needs of these women. The educators themselves need to be reeducated.

2. "The Media and Their Effect on Black Women," by Beth Rawles, asserts that the media perpetuate certain myths and stereotypes of Blacks that influence the attitudes of both Blacks and non-Blacks. The paper traces the history of efforts at media reform. Special attention is given to such problem areas as limited employment opportunities for black women in the media, their "double invisibility" in media presentations, and the self-hate thus engendered.

3. "Health Issues Facing Black Women," by Inez Smith Reid, charges that the health of the black community, and especially of the poor, has been inexcusably neglected in this country. The effects of certain health problems--cancer, sterilization, hypertension, alcoholism, and depression leading to suicide--on black women are examined. As one of her recommendations, Reid suggests a massive effort by federal and private agencies to educate citizens about health problems.

4. "Policy Issues on Day Care: The Special Needs of Black Women," by Betti S Whaley and Toye B. Lewis, recommends that new policies be developed to provide comprehensive social and educational services for working women and comprehensive developmental services for their children. Such policies would include "family impact statements" analogous to the environmental impact statements now required in the interests of protecting our natural resources.

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*The papers are abstracted in Section V of the present volume and have been published in their entirety as Volume II of the Compendium, free upon request to the National Institute of Education. See inside back cover for information about ordering copies.

The papers discussed by Group II were as follows:

5. "Socialization and Education of Young Black Girls in Schools," by Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, points out that social science research has tended to overlook black girls as a group. The socialization of black girls in the early school years has not been studied directly, and the images of black females that are presented tend to be distorted. Lightfoot believes that more emphasis should be given to the positive aspects of the social, intellectual, and psychological development of black girls rather than their weaknesses and atypical qualities.

6. "Toward Full Equality: Job Education for Women," by Pamela Ann Roby, talks about vocational education and its pertinence to women in general, not just black women. Some of the problems highlighted are the limited training opportunities in vocational education available to women, the severe sex segregation that occurs in vocational areas (with females being channeled into lower-paying occupations), and the lack of women in the power structure of vocational education. Roby emphasizes the need to assess the effects of vocational education programs on black women.

7. "Counseling Implications of Black Women's Market Position, Aspirations, and Expectancies," by Patricia Gurin and Anne Pruitt, cites studies of black women, as compared with other groups, with respect to work motivation, market position, and occupational and educational aspirations. The authors urge that counselor education be expanded to include greater emphasis on the strategies of consultation and milieu management as ways of responding more meaningfully to the needs of black women.

8. "Black Women Who Head Families: Economic Needs and Economic Resources," by Isabel V. Sawhill, documents the economically disadvantaged position of black women who head families and identifies such factors as urbanization, early marriage and childbearing, and male unemployment as contributing to the fundamental imbalance between the economic needs of these women and their economic resources.

A paper on "Black Women in Higher Education Administration" was discussed by Group II but later removed from the compendium by request of the author.

III. CHAIRPERSON'S REPORT: GROUP I

Gladys Handy
Assistant Commissioner of Education
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

The practitioner/policymaker group was heterogeneous, comprising women whose perspectives had been formed by their participation in a wide variety of educational activities. The group was composed of teachers and administrators; women with research experience and women without; those who had worked in traditional institutional programs, and those who had designed, organized or implemented nontraditional programs. Some members of the group had experience in specialized programs such as health or vocational education, while others had worked in more general educational programs. Virtually all had worked in more than one type of educational program and, in most cases, had performed several functions.

Thus, beyond their all being women concerned with the special educational needs of black women, perhaps the only characteristics common to the group were, first, that none of the participants were currently engaged in research, and second, that each was responsible for the design, administration, or implementation of educational programs which affect black women either as a special target group or as members of the general population. These two common characteristics influenced the group's discussion and helped to shape the nature of its recommendations, which (as will be seen) focused on the development of knowledge that can be used either to understand more fully the special problems of educating black women or to design programs or policies for meeting their perceived needs.

The group members agreed to adopt the strategy of identifying, largely from their own experience and knowledge, those issues and problems which would be facilitated by research information. The participants asked: Given the ability to identify and define the educational problems of black women, what information is needed to address them? Stated alternatively: Which solutions to educational problems are dependent upon either additional information or a different type of information than now exists?

Group members also agreed that because their own research expertise was less extensive than that of their counterparts in Group II, they might best contribute to the conference goals by (a) identifying those issues and problems whose solutions seem to depend upon the development of new knowledge, and (b) suggesting strategies which agencies--particularly the National Institute of Education--might use to bring about change. The participants were especially concerned about strategies for ordering research priorities, synthesizing and disseminating the findings of research, and devising policies and implementing programs which address the educational needs of black women.

The prepared papers provided a final element of the framework for the discussions. The papers served as a catalytic function in provoking discussion and in helping the group to frame the issues and strategies described below.

The group's process can be summarized simply. The participants asked themselves:

- What are the educational needs and problems of black women from a program and policy perspective?
- What information is needed to address these programs?
- What can NIE (and other agencies) do to address these problems?
- What strategies need to be developed to implement change?

Issues, Problems, and Information Needs

The following description of issues and problems does not constitute a ranking by the members of the group but rather represents what emerged from the ordering of the papers and the interaction of the participants and the authors. Indeed, the participants seemed to agree that all the issues/needs/problems were of high priority and, in fact, were interrelated.

For example, one of the first problems cited, "dissemination of information in black communities," ran as a constant theme throughout the discussion. The participants were uncertain whether the problem is that additional data are needed or that such data are unavailable to Blacks.*

Despite this qualification, the participants agreed that several information needs related to dissemination require research to produce additional information which may help planners, administrators, and practitioners to develop solutions. High-priority research areas include:

- Identification of the nontraditional or noninstitutional sources of information used by Blacks. The purpose of such research would be to design mechanisms for providing these sources with timely and accurate data. One participant phrased this negatively as the need to prevent the spread of misinformation or partial information. The issue was viewed as particularly important in the area of health education.

*The chair also noted that, throughout the discussion, the group tended to enlarge the focus of its concern to include the larger black community as well as black women. This tendency may be attributable to the involvement of many of the participants in educational programs for both sexes or, more subtly, to a shared perception that black women function inextricably within the context of "black communities."

- Collection of information to be used in developing strategies for the design of nontraditional information systems--particularly for formal "noneducational" institutions, such as the black church, and for informal networks, such as neighborhood systems.

- Identification of the most effective ways of presenting information. Such research would include the examination of linguistically sensitive issues among black women. Group members felt that more needs to be learned about how the communication of information might differ in black communities and how communication might be made more effective by using indigenous styles.

From this discussion emerged the group's conviction that not enough is known about how "human services" systems--among which the educational system plays an increasingly important role--can be urbanized to reach those who must need the services.

Important information needs were:

- Identification of those elements necessary in the design of educational systems sensitive to the special needs of black women: i.e., What goes into the delivery kit?

- Identification of community resources and possible advocate groups.

- Identification of criteria for judging effectiveness in carrying out projects (both educational and research) in the black community.

These issues provoked a discussion of policy and social-strategy questions, from which the following points emerged:

- Strategies must be identified for developing consensus among black women as to their needs and the priority of these needs.

- Resources must be found to support necessary programs.

- Advocacy groups must be organized.

- Black women should set the policies and should design, control, and largely staff programs and projects which are designed to aid black women.

The four themes recurred throughout the discussion. The participants agreed that, to a large extent, the usefulness of research in solving black women's educational problems depends on finding ways to actualize these policies and strategies.

The discussion then turned to a set of issues focused more directly upon the educational enterprise, although again within the larger sociopolitical context. In general, these issues were framed in terms of "how-to": e.g., How do we benefit from the past ten years of social change? The participants sought answers to problems in the social environment. Examples of the kinds of studies needed include:

- Assessments of the impact of black involvement on the outcomes of black education. These assessments would include evaluating the effects of these programs on the change agents themselves (i.e., What did they learn?) and the strengths and weaknesses of the efforts (i.e., What new or old agenda are needed?).

- Identification of factors (especially educational) associated with the movement of black women into "new" (nontraditional) occupations. This discussion emphasized isolating those factors associated with earlier failure in fields such as the mass media.

- Historical research (to be incorporated in curricula) on roles of black women. This information might then be integrated with research on how the inclusion of such materials in the curricula affects the aspirations of Blacks. It was suggested that inventories of black female success models, both past and present, might provide useful insights into those factors associated with achievement.

- More general analyses of the content and methodology of education and their effects on black children in both traditional core subjects and specialized fields. The purpose of this research would be to develop strategies for dealing with any differential needs of black youngsters. The participants generally shared the assumption that the overall question of quality education, effectively provided, is of concern to all segments of the population and that many nonminority children do not receive an education sensitive to their needs. Nevertheless, the different environments, cultural patterns, needs, and family aspirations that condition the black child's experience require an examination of the appropriateness of many educational techniques.

- Evaluation of the use of behavior modification techniques, with particular attention to unintended negative effects on black children.

- Assessment of the impact of "credentialing" on the educational and occupational achievement of black women. In this case, the discussion centered on not only the value of diplomas and degrees for black women but also the need for research to help determine the appropriate relation between experiential learning and formal education. In addition, several participants mentioned the difficulty of identifying the subtle barriers raised or the

unstated criteria used when people apply for jobs. Many participants believed that carefully designed statistical analyses should be conducted to determine if the so-called two-fer (the alleged double counting of a minority woman for the purpose of padding affirmative action reports) has actually resulted in increased job placement of "credentialed" black women in nontraditional jobs.

- Research on self-image, role models, and role expectations in different environments. Participants emphasized that research should be directed to institutional and environmental factors (as opposed to idiosyncratic psychological characteristics of individual women). Such factors often pressure the black woman to conform to external expectations, thereby limiting her educational and other options.

  In addition, several members of the group cautioned against substituting new--but equally constraining--stereotypes for the old ones. They urged that research be undertaken to learn the impact of changing images of desirable and undesirable black female behavior, particularly as these images are presented in the media.

- Studies of the impact of Title IX on black women. Participants were interested in a wide range of possible effects: e.g., on employment in professional sports, on physical fitness, and on the development of such survival skills as swimming. They were interested also in exploring how Title IX may affect mental health and self-confidence.

It was suggested that "real stories" of "real people" be developed for use in educational and commercial media.

It should be noted that the questions raised by members of this group emphasized the need for a clearer understanding of institutional structures: their relation to educational processes and procedures and, ultimately, to educational outcomes and to community structures and dynamics. The interaction between these factors and the effectiveness of educational delivery systems was cited as an important issue. This emphasis reflects the policymaker's and the program implementor's desire to discover and understand those forces which thwart or impede the achievement of the goals set by the organizations or programs in which she (or he) works.

In addition, the concerns of the women in this group reflect a need to understand contextual factors and their interactions. This need leads to an emphasis on multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary research, as opposed to more focused, discipline-oriented studies.

Another set of issues centered on the relation of education to work. The discussion of these issues did not, however, focus

exclusively on "vocational preparation"; it was clear that the participants shared the view that education and educational institutions have much broader and more multifaceted purposes. At the same time, a better understanding of the relation of education to greater occupational access, to upward mobility, and to better vocational skills is crucial if educational programs for black women are to be improved.

The twin topics of jobs and money pervaded all of the previous discussions but only during the last session did the group directly address the education-and-occupation question. Several priority areas for study were identified:

- The difficulties of mid-career change and the special problems of black women attempting to change careers. This complex issue comprises several subsidiary questions which the group mentioned as requiring more specific elaboration. For example, the group agreed that:

  -the nature of "career ladders"--how they operate, how they should be designed and established--needs to be more fully explored.

  -the process of career counseling needs to be better understood.

  -the problems of overtraining for jobs and of transferring skills from one occupational level to another should be analyzed. Often credit is not received for skills or knowledge gained at one occupational level because these abilities are not officially or formally required for a given position. The group regarded these problems as critical for black women (and for other women as well).

  -mechanisms should be designed for identifying new or developing fields and for helping black women move into these fields. For example, an important question is the relation of the skills gained in one field or occupation to the skills needed in another. The participants were concerned with how to identify "common" skills and abilities needed at different levels in a variety of job categories.

  -attitudes that block black women from entering certain occupations or fields need to be understood. The participants specified this issue with some hesitancy because of their reluctance to encourage yet another set of studies "blaming the victim." Nonetheless, they agreed that cultural and traditional views of the status and value of certain jobs might inhibit black women from getting training for or seeking access to lucrative, rewarding, or expanding career fields (e.g., skilled industrial and construction work, housecleaning contracts, scientific and technological jobs).

In the discussion of mid-career change, certain overriding and urgent social and policy questions recurred. These questions tended to focus the group's attention on the problem of the individual black woman who seeks to change careers or expand her options. One such question is that of financing education. Student financial aid policies need to be examined for their possibly differential effects on different people: the single woman, the married woman, the woman with dependents, the working woman, and so on. A similar point may be made regarding tax regulations. One topic that elicited considerable emotion was that of the problems faced by black women who work and who wish either to continue their present educational program or to enter an educational program that would prepare them for a different occupation. These problems--often resulting from policies, schedules, and, in some cases, location of educational programs and from the conflicting policies of the employing agency--are often exacerbated if the black woman is a single head of a household with dependents, as she frequently is.

Other major research needs involving the nexus between education and occupation are:

- Examination of the processes by which educational institutions help to prepare people for a changing job market while at the same time they serve as agents for maintaining existing occupational structures.

  The participants felt that this issue is not well understood and that the question has not yet been framed in such a way as to allow for the kind of research which would be helpful in maximizing those aspects of the educational process (including non-formal aspects) which are related to occupational success and those which are important to other than occupational outcomes.

  Implicit in the discussion was a shared belief that the "school" is one of the institutions which helps sort people out in this society. Schooling not only helps to prepare people for jobs in the most narrow vocational sense, but also helps to prepare them to occupy their "place" in the social order. The group believes that this issue deserves much more serious consideration and a more careful specification of the research question than have yet occurred.

- Assessment of the impact of special educational/vocational/career programs on black women.

  The participants felt that data are needed to understand what has worked--and why and how--as well as what has not worked. Several times in the sessions, participants expressed the view that research questions are often framed in too simplistic a fashion--in an "either/or" way--in light of social realities: The program either worked (by some specified criteria), or it

did not. In the opinion of the participants, nearly every program always succeeds--for some recipients and to some degree--and nearly every program always fails--for some recipients and to some degree. Thus, the problem is to design research which will identify those elements which are successful with specified groups of people.

Strategies for Improvement

Since the major concern of an activist group such as this is to get on with the business of social change and improvement, the discussion of strategies was not so neatly compartmentalized, but flowed instead in and out of the discussion. In fact, many of the issues delineated above were framed as the question, How do we accomplish a goal? rather than ask the question, What do we need to know? Nevertheless, it is clear that strategy has both a research component and an action component. Though, in most instances, a given issue could be listed under either component, in the interests of specificity the research issues are presented separately and explicitly:

Research Issues

- Examination of the role of black elected (and appointed) officials and their relation to other policymakers and officials.

- Development of timetables for social change.

  The members of the group asked, What are realistic goals? How can change be expedited? What factors inhibit progress? How can these inhibiting factors be neutralized?

- Design and implementation of mechanisms for developing effective affirmative action plans.

  This top-priority item should be explored through trial and error as well as through systematic research. Current affirmative action plans tend to pit Blacks against whites and other minorities, women against men, black women against white and other minority women, and black women against black men. The chief aim of this research would be to identify strategies for reducing this tendency. The participants felt that more information is needed not only about how tokenism affects the individual in the performance of duties associated with the job, but also about how it may inhibit black women from accepting high-risk/high-payoff opportunities.

  Several members of the group felt that the question of risk-payoff deserves systematic study since, in their opinion, these instances offer the greatest opportunity for breakthroughs.

- Examination of the impact of the black woman in non-traditional roles.

  The participants felt that studies are needed which address the question of female managerial performance and either dispel or confirm the Queen-Bee/Dragon-(Boss-) Lady stereotypes. Related to this question is the need for studies of the positive and negative effects of highly visible, high-status black female role models upon national and local policies and programs and upon the population. Group members emphasized that a special category of studies should focus on younger middle managers, particularly those who have attained these positions during the last ten years. They felt it highly probable that the sources of success for these younger women differ from those available to older black women.

- Identification of factors underlying coalition development within and among black constituencies.

  Again, it seems clear that research and action must be simultaneous. The effectiveness of coalitions in accomplishing desired ends of possible (more effective) alternatives should be explored, as should the problem of diverse and non-complementary interests within and among "black communities."

- A significant research and strategy issue is that of determining the accountability of "tokens" to the constituency groups.

  This complex issue subsumes a number of very interesting questions. For example, in what circumstances is the employment or promotion of a black woman in a nontraditional job an action motivated by tokenism rather than an action based on merit? In what circumstances is accountability possible or impossible because of the nature of the structure of the institution, political constraints on the constituency, or the relative powerlessness of the constituency? Given the diverse and complex interests of constituency groups, how might goals be identified and accountability measured?

Action Issues

The practitioner/policymaker group had very specific ideas about short-range actions which might help initiate change. Though for the most part directed specifically to action and to changes in social policy that the NIE might undertake, these comments were intended also to suggest more general ways in which other governmental agencies, particularly research agencies, might relate more positively to black women.

- Development of an outside committee, composed of laypersons and scientists from the relevant constituencies, to provide periodic oversight and advice on programs and policy.

(As a precedent within the federal government, the Bureau of the Census has several such committees which advise on ways to improve its data collection in minority communities.)

- Identification, with the participation and consultation of minority women, of appropriate questions and program priorities.

- Development of an inventory of black women in research organizations and the identification and involvement of black women with research capabilities, regardless of institutional affiliation.

- Design and exploration of action strategies for increasing, as quickly as possible, the number of black women in research.

  These strategies should include a close look at predominantly black institutions, where many black women still receive their undergraduate training. Currently, the large prestigious graduate institutions receive heaviest funding for research. But these funding patterns may require change--at least to the extent of including more actively black colleges in the research enterprise--if black women are to become interested and involved in research.

- Collaboration with agencies which support or influence counseling services to urge that counseling be given on research and development as a vocational possibility.

- Design of a focused research internship sponsored by NIE to upgrade the skills of junior black researchers, wherever they are located.

- Examination of current research strategies with respect to the types of projects sponsored and the allocation of resources among the various types.

Throughout the discussions of this group, it was clear that activists encounter three major problems with research:

1. Availability. Most research findings of concern to the group seem to be buried beyond reach in the technical journals in different fields.

2. Comprehensibility. In most instances, the findings are reported in a jargon which the lay person finds impossible to understand.

3. Credibility. It is difficult for a lay reader to judge which research findings can be generalized to her own (or his own) situation.

Thus, this group of practitioners/policymakers believes that high priority should be given to disseminating, on a regular basis, syntheses of research completed or in progress. Team members on such projects would necessarily be from several disciplines and would probably include professional science writers experienced in translating scientific findings for the general public. Syntheses should include discussion of the applicability of the findings, along with assessment of the validity and reliability of the findings. The activists would like to have access to papers which answer such questions as: What is the consensus of the scientific community on a given educational issue? Given consensus (or lack of it), are there problems with the corpus of work in this area (or with significant parts of it, or with its most widely reported study) that make its applicability dubious? Do the problems occur because the state of the art does not permit the appropriate questions to be answered or because the competence of the scientist(s) doing the research is questionable?

A second implication to emerge from the practitioner/policymaker's group discussion is that experimental small "A" studies and manipulations of secondary statistical data should be de-emphasized, whereas "natural experiments" and descriptive work should be emphasized. To a great extent, the decision-makers/activists agreed that carefully designed observation of the actual behavior of social actors in social systems was a high-priority need. These studies should focus on black women as a legitimate group for study and not in comparison with other groups.

A third implication was the need to conduct assessments and evaluations to describe impacts--both short- and long-range, and in first, second, third, etc. order--of various interventions and policy initiatives. Members of the group felt that scientists must address the issue of the trade-off between technical elegance and the provision of information that focuses directly upon questions of social importance. From the perspective of those involved with programs and policy, there is an important distinction between the statistically significant finding which is socially insignificant and the finding of social importance which is not significant statistically, but which is likely to occur with sufficient regularity to merit attention.

The group's final strong recommendation in this area is that emphasis be given to a focused research process--from priority-setting projects through syntheses and evaluations of the need for research, and descriptive studies and evaluations, to experimental projects. An exception to this process, which the group recognized cannot in the nature of things proceed quite so neatly, are "natural experiments" or demonstration projects on those high-priority issues where an opportunity to observe or study might be lost.

This group strongly recommends that the NIE examine its own staffing, funding and review practices with a view to greater involvement of black women in determining and implementing policy.

Summary

In the sessions during which they struggled with the issue of the need for and uses of research on the educational and occupational problems of black women, the members of Group II reached an unstated consensus. That consensus was that much of their own work could be facilitated and improved 1) if there were available more knowledge that directly assessed the observed problems defined in consultation with laypersons; 2) if research were carried out within time frames corresponding to decision-making timetables; and 3) if research findings were synthesized, evaluated, and written in understandable language. The participants hope that their comments will give both NIE and researchers the incentive to begin that process in the interests of black women and of American society.

IV. CHAIRPERSON'S REPORT: GROUP II

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The idea for this national conference grew out of expressed concern over the lack of adequate and accurate research data on the occupational and educational needs of black women, part of a larger concern for the occupational and educational needs of minority women in the United States. The conference, sponsored by the Women's Research Program of the National Institute of Education, was guided by the following considerations:

- The Women's Research Program of the National Institute of Education has requested advice from the field in establishing a research agenda on black women.
- The priorities of the Women's Research Program are in the area of research, but recommendations emerging from the conference that suggest action programs will be passed on to the appropriate units of the Institute.
- Group II, composed principally of researchers, will identify policy issues related to the occupational and educational needs of black women that can be dealt with through research.
- The agenda resulting from the conference should include both intramural and extramural research possibilities.
- Discussion of the papers prepared for the conference will involve a critique of their relevance and content which will culminate in recommendations for future research.
- Recommendations will be developed and agreed upon as one of the outcomes of the conference.

Six research papers formed the basis for the discussions, evaluations, and recommendations of Group II. The procedure was as follows: the author summarized her paper, using a "walk-through" method to highlight the essential points. The chairwoman then opened the floor to a discussion of the content, methodology, and conclusions of the paper. Finally, the group detailed the implications of the paper for the conference, for the research agenda, and for recommendations to the National Institute of Education.

This report presents a summary of each paper and of the discussion that followed, then synthesizes the questions raised and the issues addressed in the discussion. The conclusions and recommendations of the research group are given in outline form at the end of this section. The six papers are organized into the three following categories according to issues:

1. Education and Development of Black Girls:

   Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, "Socialization and Education of Young Black Girls"

2. Educational Needs:

Sharon Tolbert, "Black Women in Higher Education Administration"*

Ethelrine Shaw, "Professional Schools and Their Impact on Black Women"

3. Occupational Needs:

Pamela Ann Roby, "Toward Full Equality: More Job Education for Women"

Patricia Gurin and Anne Pruitt, "Counseling Implications of Black Women's Market Position, As pirations, and Expectancies"

Isabel V. Sawhill, "Black Women Who Head Families: Economic Needs and Economic Resources"

Education and Development of Black Girls

The research group decided that, before addressing the current needs of black women, issues relating to the education and development of black girls should be identified and explored. Therefore, the first paper discussed was "Socialization and Education of Young Black Girls in Schools," by Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, which reviews the research literature on this topic. The author demonstrates how the cultural values and predispositions that many people in both the majority and the minority cultures share about young black girls are reflected in the theoretical assumptions made, in the research questions asked, and in the methodological strategies used when conducting research on black girls.

A review of the research literature reveals that little attention has been paid to the constraints of different methodological approaches. Lightfoot asserts that the next step in research should involve looking at some critical issues which have not yet been addressed and which may be perceived as fantasy in some cases, because they go so far beyond the quantitative analyses that represent the only kind of research heretofore done in this area. One such issue is the relation between sex and schooling, which is crucial and complex. More specifically, the following issues should be investigated:

- The twin questions of sex differences and of differential treatment of the sexes in elementary school (particularly first and second grades). For instance, data about aggression, as manifested by boys and by girls, are contaminated and biased. Therefore, exploration of sex differences should be expanded or

*After the conference, the author chose to remove her paper from this compendium.

emphasized in order to assess more fully the impact of sex roles in schooling.

- The impact of black female teachers on the aspirations of black children. Lightfoot found that there was sex stereotyping by teachers in the classroom, but it did not lead to favoritism.

- Socialization patterns in the school and in the home, as parallel areas for study with respect to sex typing. The purpose of such research would be to reveal congruences and incongruities in the development of sex stereotypes. Studying the continuity and discontinuity between home and school would be a major part of this exploration of socialization patterns and their impact on young black girls.

The group agreed that to understand fully the influence of acculturation, researchers must look first at the preschool sex typing that takes place in the home, then at what occurs in the school once the child is there. Examples of the questions to be asked are: Does the school reinforce the sex typing of the parents, or is it in opposition? Whichever is the case, how do children respond? Previous studies of preschool children indicate that definite sex stereotypes are well in place by age four. The study of continuities and discontinuities between the home environment and the school environment, by different socio-economic levels and ethnic groups, is an item of major importance on the research agenda.

Many young black girls, accustomed to being independent and aggressive, experience great tension and anxiety when placed in a classroom, where passivity is demanded. This finding comes in part from observational research on children playing games in the first grade. In games, the leadership role for girls is the priority of the group. Thus, when playing school, girls assume the teacher roles; when playing house, girls assume the leader roles of mothers doing interesting things. One participant commented that her "gut-level" hypothesis is that black women are unique in that they carry with them, nonverbally but always present, the history of slavery and the position of the black female in that history. Few researchers, she said, have dealt with the coping ability of black girls and women. She further suggested that when the young black girl goes to school, she takes with her an unspoken understanding about her world and her role in the world. The fact that black girls of lower-class backgrounds often seem to have difficulty relating closely to teachers is further evidence of the tensions and frustrations created for young black girls accustomed to being independent. Another participant suggested that some of the research findings presented in Winners, Losers, and Girls, a forthcoming book by Jessie Bernard and Raphaela Best, may address some of the questions about the conflict between independence and passivity as it relates to girls. The need for further study of the different socialization processes undergone by white women and by black women was mentioned by various members of the group. In particular, it

is important to focus on the socialization of black girls as a theoretical framework to guide research on black women.

With respect to the paper itself, the group felt that the section on the literature should be expanded and that the author should make clear her disagreement with the sex-role literature up to this point. The group also concluded that an extensive review of the literature on sex differences is in order at the next level of research in this area.

In addition, there is a need for research that uses such variables as age, ethnic background, socioeconomic level, and grade level. Though Lightfoot begins to deal with some of these variables in her paper, a more clearly delineated research design would contribute much information on the socialization process and on sex differences as they relate to the development of black girls. In short, an integrated study, as opposed to an isolated study, should be the next step.

The group next discussed methodological approaches to research on the socialization process and drew the following conclusions:

- The observational or behavioral approach should be continued as a method; it should, however, be expanded to include a greater number of relevant variables.

- Quantitative tabulations of such scales as the Brophy and Good Scale should be used not in isolation, but as part of a comprehensive research design.

- More ethnographic and interview methods, including in-depth interviews with teachers and children, should be used in conjunction with child-focused observations.

- Methods to get at the special strengths of socialization in black settings--such as between black children and parents in the home and black teachers and children in the classroom (where nonverbal communication plays as important a role as verbal communication)--need to be developed.

- Research, using a variety of methodologies, should focus on a group of black women who have reached at least young adulthood and who are matched by age and family background (i.e., socioeconomic status). These studies would identify being very successful or very unsuccessful as outcomes, and would identify and explore the kinds of differential experiences that culminated in or that contributed to these outcomes. Such a design would allow the testing of cause-and-effect hypotheses about important variables in the socialization process.

- In designing research studies, the underlying assumption should be that black women as a group are heterogeneous, not (as is commonly assumed) homogeneous.

- A national longitudinal study of the achievement of black boys and girls, comparing them with other ethnic groups by sex, would be a valuable contribution.

In summary, the group agreed on four major points:

1. Research on the socialization and education of black--and other--children should be conducted in integrated rather than isolated settings; studies of creative leadership in junior high schools, similar to those now done in preschool settings, are needed.

2. In-depth interviews with teachers should be part of any research in this area, in order to identify the relation of teachers to black boys and girls in integrated versus non-integrated settings.

3. Rather than simply replicating investigations of the competencies of black girls, it might be valuable to focus on other questions: e.g., Do they enter school with social skills different from those of other girls? Are there any special competencies that they bring as a result of their socialization? How does their peer environment affect them? All such questions should constitute part of the theoretical guidelines for future research on the socialization of young black girls.

4. Major emphasis should be given to identifying and dealing with the real needs of black women rather than simply researching the status quo produced by current socialization patterns. There should be an attempt to identify, through research, intervention techniques which then could contribute to the design of educational materials and experiences to meet the needs of young black girls as they grow to adulthood.

Educational Needs

The first of two papers on the educational needs of black women was Sharon Tolbert's "Black Women in Higher Education Administration."* Her data dispel the myth that more black women are entering doctoral programs, receiving terminal degrees, and entering high-level positions. Another common myth is that, because of affirmative action programs, black women are being hired into positions which had previously gone to white men and white women. The data indicate that, in actuality, fewer black than white women are being admitted to graduate school and that fewer still are completing the doctorate.

*After the conference, the author chose to remove her paper from this compendium.

Several problems arise with respect to the accessibility, accuracy, and useability of data. For instance, the federal government and most professional organizations do not collect data by both race and sex, making it impossible to study black women as a group. An exception mentioned by one of the participants is the National Academy of Sciences data file which is available for use by researchers.

According to Tolbert, only eight black women hold key positions in higher education administration, and though these are supposedly policy-making positions, only a few carry real power and authority. Moreover, the major policy-shaping bodies in higher education (e.g., the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education) have no black women in key positions. Because of institutional racism and sexism, capable and well-prepared black women have not been able to enter the ranks of academic administration and consequently have entered nonacademic fields. Future research should determine the involvement of black women in administrative positions in industry. The author concludes that:

- the graduate enrollment of black women, particularly at the doctoral level, should be increased until parity is achieved;
- some internal mechanism is needed for auditing the recruitment and utilization of black women in institutions of higher education. Once developed it can be used as a model; and
- black women are at a double disadvantage: sex and race. Of the four race-sex groups (white men, white women, black men, and black women), they are at the bottom in terms of employment in academic administration.

In the discussion that followed Tolbert's paper, it was pointed out that the cutback in fellowships for minorities and women directly affects the access of black women to doctoral programs. One participant also pointed out that the question of advancement (who ends up where) is related more to proximity (being close to the right person) than to an individual's preparation or capabilities. This point raises the question of the socialization process and of the role played by "powerful individuals" (i.e., those in top administrative positions) in determining who will move into the inner circle. Because black women seldom have direct access to those powerful individuals or sufficient representation in graduate programs, some new intervention must be made into the developmental cycle of graduate students. The group agreed that the eight black women who have emerged in top administrative positions in academe should be studied to determine the factors contributing to their success. The prominent qualities of various role models and the process by which role models are identified and emulated should be examined. That should help isolate essential elements to be used in the early training of black girls and of young adult black women in undergraduate programs.

It also was generally agreed that we need research which will force institutions to reexamine their affirmative action behavior. The notion

that black women are usurping positions from white women and black men seems to be erroneous, but accurate documentation is required for a clear picture of the situation.

The group discussed the notion that black women have a "double-negative" status--being black and being female--which puts them at the bottom of the hierarchy. The biggest danger of this double-negative status is that black women may not be counted or identified either as women or as blacks. The group emphasized the need to influence date-collection agencies, especially those in the federal government, to collect and report all data by sex and by race.

The group cited the status of black women in black institutions as evidence of strong sex discrimination. The consensus was that, despite their administrative ability and expertise, these women are no more likely to occupy top administrative positions than are black women in white institutions. The effects of cultural conditioning and sex stereotyping are as evident in black as in white institutions. Sexism complicated by racism--particularly as it affects the participation of black women in academic administration--is a problem requiring considerable research. Its impact and implications are far-reaching when one considers that institutions of higher education produce teachers of the young, administrators at the primary and secondary levels, and college teachers and administrators. Unless black women occupy powerful policy-making positions in higher education, it is hard to see how the negative cycle will ever be interrupted. The significance of helping to open critical administrative positions in higher education to black women is an issue that NIE should address in its future research programs.

Data on black professional women are scarce and this void needs to be filled. During the discussion of black professional women, it was pointed out that the dependence of many black women upon the male wage-earner in the labor market further complicates the interaction of race and sex. The group felt that the white female factory worker has a better chance of moving into a higher-level position (e.g., supervisor) than does the black man, who may have a wife and children to support. The pressures which erupt at this interface gradually work up through the college or university level. A basic question is how to assure black women in lesser positions that the black professional woman is concerned about their welfare in such a situation; a situation where those who support them--black men--must compete with white women, who have the advantage. The pressures then fall doubly on the black professional woman, who is saying many of the same things as the white professional woman. The underlying issue here is that black men are competing, along with black women, against white women, and all three groups are competing against white men. What finally occurs, it was agreed, is that black women get "left out of the ballgame."

The group then discussed the concept of the closed tenure system as a deterrent to black women attempting to move into positions of authority

in higher education; this accounts in part for the absence of black women in such positions. The restrictions appear to be present at all levels of the educational system but again the critical absence in higher education surfaces as the key point for research to develop some strategies for change. A very clear definition of power emerged from the discussion: "Power is the control of the in-flow and out-flow of money and the in-go and out-go of people." As Tolbert points out, many of the women identified as academic administrators held such titles as Vice-Chancellor but exerted no real power. As a result of this conclusion, the group addressed the concept of intervention into the current leadership in higher education.

The group also identified the need for research to assess the influence of black administrators in predominantly white institutions, both as perceived by the administrators themselves (male and female) and as perceived by their peers in the institution. It was mentioned that Blacks have not been placed in "hard-money" positions in academic institutions; instead, the institutions tended to use "soft" federal dollars for specific programs to recruit Blacks during the late 1960s and the early 1970s. This has nullified the ability of those persons to have some impact on the system. For instance, Tolbert's study found that no major institution currently has a black Fiscal Officer, one of the most powerful positions in an academic institution.

The absence of black women in academic administration has an impact on the accessibility of jobs at the other end. The group agreed that work plays a significant role in the lives of most people, helping to determine their interpersonal relations (e.g., cohort groups, professional friendships), their lifestyles, their sphere of influence, and even their ability to branch out into new career areas. The multifaceted problem of sex discrimination in the world of work is evidenced by the absence of women in top administrative positions at black institutions. Apparently, the socialization patterns of black men are duplicates of those of white men; thus, whites no longer have to manipulate the environment themselves in order to present the full utilization and development of the rich pool of capable and educated black women in higher education.

The second paper on the educational needs of black women, Ethelrine Shaw's "Professional Schools and Their Impact on Black Women," extends the discussion of some issues raised in the Tolbert paper. Shaw assesses the appropriateness, effectiveness, and adequacy of professional schools in relation to the black woman student. Though dealing primarily with professional schools in the area of health and drawing many of her statistics from her home institution, Ohio State University, Shaw does give information that is generalizable to other types of professional schools. An immediate conclusion is that models for reviewing program effectiveness in professional schools need to be developed.

Evaluating professional schools in terms of their outcomes for black women may require a look at data from the Census Bureau and similar

sources. Shaw identifies the need for the comprehensive collection, storage, and analysis of "bits and pieces" of data on, for example, the proportion of applicants accepted into professional programs, the proportion who complete the program, and the proportion who then move into the professions. At present, data sources are scattered, and many of the data are not usable because of faulty data-collection procedures. The overriding problem is the failure to collect and present data by race and by sex, making it impossible to identify black women as a group. The explicit need for comprehensive and accurate data sets on black women was a theme stressed again and again in the discussion of this paper and emerges as one of the major recommendations of this conference.

According to Shaw, despite increased recruitment of women in general, the numbers of black women being recruited and admitted into professional programs has not increased. For example, smaller numbers of black women seem to be entering nursing and allied health programs, even though nursing is one of the professional areas in which, traditionally, black women have been heavily involved. The decrease in the number of black women enrolling in professional schools means, ultimately, a decrease in the number entering the labor force as professionals and, consequently, a reduction in the number who eventually rise to leadership positions. A longitudinal study is needed, beginning at the point of application to professional school and continuing with periodic follow-ups: Those who are admitted would be compared with those who are not admitted, and those who complete the degree would be compared with those who drop out during the course of study. Comparisons of the characteristics of these different groups might shed some light on the question of how professional education needs to be strengthened.

The entire collegiate environment--the whole set of circumstances within the higher education institution--needs to be scrutinized as it relates to the retention or attrition of students once they are admitted. In addition, some measure of the professional school's impact not only upon the education of its students but also upon society at large (as reflected, for example, in the specialized areas the students choose to pursue) should be devised. Inez Reid's paper on "Health Issues Facing Black Women" pointed out the lack of any organized approach to dealing with the health problems of Blacks, largely because of the indifference of the majority group in the health professional schools. But professional schools have the obligation to provide inclusive training and education related to all kinds of problems. Their failure to meet this obligation is attributable partly to the absence of any kind of review and evaluation process and partly to the absence of a sufficient number of black students, teachers, and administrators to call attention to these deficiencies in professional programs.

In short, some of the critical issues that should be addressed by professional schools in the area of health are:

- black health problems: their inclusion for study in the curricula;

- the use of Blacks as subjects for research studies, and
- the professional responsibility of the schools to try to educate the public about health problems.

Professional accrediting associations and professional organizations, which are responsible for setting the standards for professional development, curriculum, and practice should be encouraged to conduct studies that will assess how well professional schools are actually meeting the standards. Among the areas to be reviewed are the admission and retention of students, their education and development, and the adequacy of research. Reasons for the underrepresentation of black women as students, teaching faculty, researchers, and administrators should also be examined.

As regards questions related to how the professional schools affect black woman as students, Shaw suggests that research be carried out on, for instance, the black woman's experiences within the professional school, the impact of those experiences on her self-image, the factors that influenced her selection of a particular program and career, and the elements in her educational experience that helped her to become a full-fledged practicing professional after graduation.

Turning to the black woman as a professional, Shaw refers to scarcity of data on this topic, except for some sparse information on the numbers of black women in the work force, the kinds of professions in which they are involved, and where they are located. With respect to trends in the employment of black female professionals, the picture is grim. Many professions are being closed to black women. For instance, entry into nursing programs is being limited on the grounds that an oversupply of nurses exists in some geographic areas (even though there are shortages of nurses in many other areas).

Any adequate evaluation of professional schools and their impact on black women should include an investigation of the students, the teaching faculty, and the administrative staff of the schools, as well as an examination of the socialization processes that serve to draw black women into professional schools or to exclude them.

In the discussion of Shaw's paper, the group agreed that the mobility and professional advancement of the black professional woman is closely related to the prestige of the school from which she graduated and to the first job after her degree. For instance, Cynthia Epstein, in a study of 25 black professional women, found that most of those who had succeeded (by her definition) had gone to white institutions. One participant commented that the prestige of the institution is important, if only to the student's self-perception, which in turn may determine where she goes after graduation. The group agreed that the relation between degree attained, school attended, and first job taken--and the impact of all three variables on self-image--should be examined.

The group also discussed factors that determine the kind of work that the black professional woman does. For instance, many black women physicians have been unable to establish private practices or to join in group practices with other black physicians, and so have tended to associate themselves with hospitals. The group agreed that one area for research would be to identify the processes that would facilitate the black women's moving into private practice, setting up her own business or clinic, and so forth. Again, the tremendous impact of socialization at various levels, as it affects the education and development of black girls and women, emerged as a dominant theme in need of further research.

One participant mentioned Helen Astin's book on The Woman Doctorate in America as a possible source for additional material, though--as is so generally true in the literature--Astin gives very little information on black women. An additional problem is that published studies that do contain relevant data are often not widely distributed. Yet another difficulty involves "gate-keepers": people who do not allow publication of certain kinds of research either because of its content or its perceived "quality." The group agreed that those few black women who are involved in research ought to be assisted and trained in getting published. (One participant said that a senior researcher had helped her to identify those parts of her dissertation that were publishable when she had not seen the work as publishable material.) The group also believed that the system of support and encouragement that seems to operate among male researchers ought to be replicated among female researchers and that the Women's Research Program of NIE ought to assume some role in overcoming the restricted dissemination system, perhaps by periodically disseminating information on black women and determining the kinds of research on black women that are being pursued. Other techniques to improve dissemination and publication were discussed. For instance, one group member suggested that black women should try to become consultants--or to influence consultants--to publishers who determine what will be published and what will be researched. A number of specific publications and their editors were cited. For instance, a series on sex roles is planned, to be edited by Arlene Daniels; this periodical might be a place to submit manuscripts by and about black women.

According to the group, women's studies programs constitute another area where black women have been excluded. A study to evaluate women's studies programs and how they might be expanded to include black women was suggested as a possible pursuit for NIE. Indeed, several of the previous recommendations might be actualized if NIE appointed some research scholars to design and conduct research on black women. One of the scholars-in-residence might be the appropriate person to spearhead this activity, forming a nucleus of women engaged in research on black women. Many of the issues mentioned--evaluation of programs, access to professional schools, need to include black women at all levels--could thus be addressed generically across NIE rather than being confined to the Women's Research Program. Members of the group agreed to submit the names of black women who might be considered as scholars-in-residence.

The need to develop a pool of black researchers was emphasized. Such development cannot occur through a program that simply gives a one-shot innoculation to people with some research skills. Rather, the program should be long-range and comprehensive, starting with efforts to attract undergraduate black women into research and continuing with socialization of these women into research as a profession.

In summary, Group II made the following recommendations related to Shaw's paper:

- NIE should attempt to develop models to evaluate professional schools in terms of their structure, program content, and outcomes for the black professional woman.

- Data sets should be developed to permit analysis of the educational and occupational needs of black women; the scattered data now existing should be merged into a comprehensive data bank.

- Evaluation models and strategies should be developed that will assist professional organizations to review existing professional schools and their specific impact on black women: as students, teachers, administrators, and practicing professionals. Such models would include assessments of the black woman's experience from the time she applied to a professional school through her graduation and the launching of her professional career.

- The critical impact of professional schools--particularly in the health fields--on black women and on the larger black community should be explored. Interventions must be developed to improve the delivery of health services.

Occupational Needs

Three papers dealt with occupational needs, including issues surrounding vocational education, job equality, the job market, vocational counseling, and the special problems of women who head families.

The first, "Toward Full Equality : More Job Education for Women," by Pamela Ann Roby, talks about vocational education and women in general rather than black women specifically. Roby points out that women are even more underrepresented in the power structure of vocational education than in that of elementary, secondary, and higher education. For instance, out of the more than 1,000 members of State Advisory Councils for Vocational Education, only 26 are women. Similarly, only one state has a female Director of Vocational Education; the other 49 have white male directors.

According to Roby, the black community has a serious stake in vocational education. The skilled trades traditionally have been controlled by a power structure that excludes minorities, particularly Blacks, at every level: training, apprenticeship, journeyman jobs. Yet these jobs constitute important alternatives for Blacks in that they pay twice as much as clerical and secretarial jobs and require no more education, though they do require a different type of training. Black women should, therefore, pressure the power structure to include them in vocational training programs. So far they have had too little voice. For instance, at recent congressional hearings on vocational education, no persons or task forces spoke to the question of minorities in vocational education. (A useful reference here is the transcript of hearings held by Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm on women in vocational education.)

One serious problem identified by Roby is the rigid sex segregation in vocational education programs. Women tend to be excluded from the traditionally male programs. For instance, home economics education within the larger vocational education program is divided into two categories: home economics (which leads to gainful employment) and homemaking (which prepares students for nonpaid work). Yet homemaking accounts for close to half of all females enrolled in vocational education programs. Moreover, homemaking also has a much higher ratio of students to teachers and much smaller per-student expenditures than do male-dominated vocational fields.

The next highest area of concentration for women is the office trades; in 1972, 28 percent of all women enrolled in vocational education were taking such programs. In contrast, only 4 percent were in trades/industries programs. Yet salary charts show that with other factors held constant jobs in the traditionally male trades and industries pay considerably more than clerical/secretarial jobs, though the latter may seem more prestigious.

Reinforcing this sex segregation, a fairly large number of vocational schools are single-sex institutions, for boys only. Even when the institution is coeducational, subtle discrimination may operate to channel females away from the male-dominated programs.

Roby explodes the myth that women do not have the aptitude to study traditionally male subjects or to fill traditionally male jobs. Data show that on only six items of ability related to skilled trades do men and women differ, and on four of these items the difference favors women. The crucial factor is the differential socialization of males and females with respect to building trades and mechanical jobs. From the time they are very young, boys are encouraged by their fathers and other influential adult males to think of themselves as capable in these areas; girls receive no such encouragement. Yet a number of benefits would result if women became involved in these traditionally masculine occupations. Roby makes the following suggestions:

- Girls need to be socialized to consider a wide range of occupations, including trades and industries ordinarily regarded as "masculine." They should have access to vocational programs in both elementary and junior high schools. Early in elementary school, they could be taken to visit factories and similar workplaces so that they will least be aware of their existence and their potential as possible careers for women. Such visits should include talks about wage levels, the wage differential, and the concept of unionization and its implications for the skilled trades.

- Similarly, at the junior and senior high school levels, more information should be given to students about wage differentials; currently, such information is completely absent from vocational education textbooks.

- If minority and female representation in vocational education is to be improved, the way in which instructors are selected must be radically changed, and textbooks and other curricular materials should be substantially revamped.

- Women and minorities should make greater efforts to compete for some of the large amounts of funding currently available for research and demonstration projects in vocational education.

Roby also mentions the need to identify competencies in vocational education, citing as an example the College of Human Services, a model of higher education focused on competency-based learning which might be investigated for its generalizability. Another model that researchers should look at is the Equal Vocational Education Demonstration Program of Sam Houston High School (Texas), which aims at recruiting females into traditionally male vocational areas, to develop jobs for the females who receive this training, and to encourage employers to accept women in these nontraditional occupations.

Discussion turned to the question of "assertiveness training" as a way of helping women move into areas formerly restricted to men. There were a variety of opinions, both pro and con, about the usefulness of assertiveness training, with the group finally reaching the consensus that it might have some value, depending on the nature of the training, the backgrounds of the prospective trainees, and the environment in which it would be utilized. One participant said that young black girls are assertive; the problem is not, then, to teach them assertiveness but to help the majority accept that assertiveness. Another participant believed that individuals had to be helped to change and adapt to large organizations because the organizations themselves do not change easily. Others thought that this notion was simplistic and that vocational education, for example, was an area into which females would not readily enter unless there was "some change in both the organization and the

socialization process of girls into the whole concept of the skilled trades as a valid work area."

The impact of women in the skilled trades was another topic of group discussion. It was pointed out, for example, that in the airplane industry women have tended to make qualitiative changes whereas men have tended to make changes that affect wages. Moreover, when women reach a critical mass in an industry (for example, the automobile industry), they improve standards of work in ways that men have not themselves thought of, though men appreciate and support these improvements once involved. But women are far less skilled as negotiators for wage increases, and Roby suggests that negotiation skills be included in any assertiveness training for girls. She also believes that research should be done on the following questions related to assertiveness training:

- Is assertiveness training more readily available to men than to women?
- To what extent do black women, as compared with white women, need assertiveness training?
- Does social class have any effect on a woman's assertiveness? Is the woman from a blue-collar background as much in need of assertiveness training as the woman from a white-collar background?

Roby also points out that Cornell's trade union women's studies program is the only program in the country which teaches women skills in negotiation and in leadership related to negotiation. The book Trade Union Women, by Anne Nelson, discusses women's perceived needs in this area.

To summarize this part of the discussion, group members were divided on the question of women's need for assertiveness training. Most expressed a conviction that women can bring to the work place a human quality that is absent in an all-male environment. Moreover, the group felt strongly that teaching girls specific skills for particular kinds of work is not enough; notions of what constitutes good human adaptation, good innovation, and creativity should be provided at the same time.

At this point, Anne Pruitt shared with the group the results of a research project reported in a dissertation by J. E. Petway. The project, conducted in a large company in Cleveland, Ohio, centered on the teaching of self-awareness in Black/White Awareness Workshops; the subjects were black secretaries and their (white) bosses. In the first set of workshops, the secretaries were helped to identify their unrecognized strengths, to assess how they were using them, and to deal with the possibility that they were using them counterproductively. The second set of workshops required the white bosses to go through a comparable process. As a result each group became more aware of how it

was perceived by the other, and each was also enabled to use its strengths in a productive rather than a counterproductive way. The conclusion of the discussion was that concern should be focused on methods of initiating productive change.

The following comment about assertiveness training precipitated a great deal of discussion:

> I don't want a woman just to be in a position where she's going to perpetuate the same kinds of things we've had done since the beginning of this country. I'm not in favor of that. I think the model by which we should live [is one in which] we should take those human qualities . . . and make them work in the larger society when we get into positions of authority . . . . I submit that the most positive image that we have in the society . . . is that of the black woman. She has been both assertive and humane. I think that if we get into those positions where we want to change our life styles, our personalities, to that of white males, or those that have had those positions of power in the past, then [we're] going to change an image that I think is very pleasant and very, very positive. . . . I think we should work more [toward] changing the structure, changing the system, rather than changing the personalities to fit the system.

In response to this comment, another participant entered what she referred to as a "minority statement":

> I'm the only economist here, and I want to put in my minority statement. I think that for the women we ought to be concerned with what matters to them is: having jobs and having well-paid jobs; being able to get a job and support a family. If they could be sitting here listening to this conversation about personal style and psychology and interpersonal relationships and so forth, I think they would disagree with it, and just say, let's take first things first. Let's make sure that people have good jobs. . . . Vocational Education is trying to give women access to certain types of [occupations]. In terms of our own discussions or in terms of our research studies or what have you, we get too far afield, into what I think are issues that only come up when one is relatively comfortable, and relatively well educated.

Still another participant said:

> [We are making the erroneous] assumption that if we behave in a certain way in one situation, that means that our total personality will change and that we won't be able to have alternative ways of behaving in other situations. . . . Just because you go into a job setting and you behave in a certain

way that leads to a higher wage level for you, [it] does not mean that you're going to go back home to your friends and behave the same way. . . . Personality does not change in this way across the board. . . . Just because you take a little course in assertiveness training for this job doesn't mean that you're going to become an assertive, aggressive bitch.

These comments reflect a central concern of the group: What modes of behavior bring about success for black women and girls? This question surfaced throughout the conference and is recommended as an area for further research by the National Institute of Education. Some major points to come out of the discussion of Roby's paper were these:

- Strong feelings, both favorable and unfavorable, were expressed about assertiveness training, women's adopting masculine modes of behavior, the feasibility of bringing about institutional changes, the development of negotiating skills, and what constitutes "good" human adaptation. It is clear that major research on real, perceived, and desired sex differences and similarities, by race and by socioeconomic status, is needed.

- Girls and women must have greater access to vocational education and must be more broadly trained for gainful employment and higher-paying jobs.

- Pressure must be exerted on the Department of Labor--as the federal agency that makes policy on job training--to provide black girls and women with more opportunities to receive training for a wider variety of jobs.

Many of the issues raised in Roby's presentation were also central to the second paper on occupational needs, "Counseling Implications of Black Women's Market Position, Aspirations, and Expectations." This paper, prepared jointly by Patricia Gurin and Anne Pruitt, analyzes some of the factors--including personal characteristics such as achievement motivation and job expectancies--that determine entry into various kinds of jobs, promotion, and occupational mobility. Data are presented on the market position of black women, the obstacles they face and their ways of overcoming these obstacles, their occupational and educational aspirations, and the role of expectancies in their work motivation. The authors then discuss the implications of these findings for the counseling of black women.

Patricia Gurin began the review by discussing some of the tables from the paper.* She compares the relative incomes, (using the incomes of white men as a normative baseline,) of the three other sex-race

*See Volume II of the compendium for the tables themselves.

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groups: black men, white women, black women. All fared badly compared with white men, the black women worst of all. Thus among workers with at least five years of postsecondary education, black men make only four-fifths as much as white men; white and black women make only three-fifths as much.

Asked what they had done to change their lives, black women were the most likely of the four groups to mention making education-related changes (e.g., returning to high school, entering technical or non-college professional schools) and least likely to mention making work-related changes (e.g., changing jobs or line of work, going into business for themselves, taking examinations to qualify for training, joining apprenticeship programs). The opposite was true for white men: That is, they were the most likely to have made work-related changes and least likely to have made education-related changes. Moreover, of those respondents who had only thought about making changes rather than actually doing so, white men again were most likely to consider work-related changes. Black women, white women, and black men were all about equally likely to have considered education-related changes. Since education per se is a less powerful determinant of income than is occupational channeling (i.e., who ends up in what jobs), these findings raise questions about the market behavior of black women. The implication is that they might be better off (at least in terms of income) making work changes than simply going back to school for more education. To the extent that black women are concerned about income, it is important that counseling and similar services be tied to the work setting as well as to the educational setting. Vocational education is not valued in the black community because it is seen as a dead end. Companies that have recently undergone court consents might be a productive place to start counseling blacks in a work setting.

In another survey, employed respondents were asked, "If you should lose your present job, what would you say were your chances of finding another job that was just as good as your present job in all respects?" Unemployed respondents were asked, "What do you think your chances will be of getting a good job in [the line of work that the respondent was considering]?" A related question was asked about the respondent's confidence in his/her own ability. Responses to these questions revealed that white men had higher job expectancies and greater self-confidence than any of the other three groups. Black women had higher job expectancies than black men but were the least self-confident.

Data on the degree of control that people feel they have over various aspects of their lives showed that white men had the greatest sense of personal control, followed by white women; Blacks of both sexes clearly felt less sense of personal control than did whites, though this was more true of men than of women. But there were no significant race differences with respect to the value placed on planning one's life or on the Protestant ethic of working hard to achieve one's occupational goals. In short, Blacks and whites do not differ in values but only in sense of efficacy.

Past research studies of black women (usually highly educated black women) have erroneously assumed that black women have considerable self-confidence and a high expectation of occupational success. Cumulatively these data indicate, however, the much research remains to be done on the self-confidence, expectancies, and sense of control manifested by black women.

In preparing the final section of their paper, the authors first searched the literature for outcome data from traditional guidance and counseling techniques. They then considered what effects these techniques might have on black women, and suggested changes and modifications that might be made in traditional techniques so that they would work better with black women. Three strategies--instruction, consultation, and milieu management--were thus defined as essential to understanding black women and helping them to improve their position in the job market by raising their expectancies and changing their behavior. In her presentation, Gurin commented:

> Who would disagree that it's good to plan your life? But what good is that going to do when you're not going to ask for a raise or work hard to get a raise because you don't believe you can get it? Therefore, I believe that the greatest mileage would come from utilizing the three strategies of instruction, consultation, and milieu management, as a key to raising expectancies and concepts.

Educational institutions are one point of interception. For instance, recent programs (e.g., cooperative education, internships) which provide students with some experience in the world of work are one way of strengthening job expectancies.

The area of counselor education would be fertile ground for NIE activities. The strategies of consultation and milieu management should be given more emphasis. Minimum and maximum levels of counselor effectiveness need to be identified. Graduate students in counseling programs should be evaluated on their ability to use strategies that work rather than on their ability to do research and write term papers. Specifically, models of compentency-based education at the graduate level should be developed. Such models could first be developed as demonstration projects in several institutions; after teachers and counselors were trained according to the model, a program designed to have some concerted impact on black women could be set up. The larger problem is not a counseling problem, a teaching problem, a curriculum problem, or a methodological problem; it is the problem of creating an entire educational experience that will bring more successful black women into educational institutions, as faculty members and administrators, so that, as role models, they will have an impact on the development of other black women.

In the discussion following Gurin's presentation, two major points were pursued:

- Job changes occur in a discriminatory market. If sex and race discrimination did not exist in the world of work, then black men and women and white women would probably use their educations to get into jobs just as effectively as white men do. At present, however, racism prevents the automatic translation of educational attainment to occupational level (and income). As one participant put it, "Racism is a more serious problem in getting a job, but once hired, sexism is more serious."

- More research needs to be done on the personal development of black women, their preparation for the world of work, and the manifestation of personality in occupational behavior. One participant expressed the belief that black women "have been programmed to think about other people first, and not about [themselves]." Because black women take on everyone else'e definition, she felt, they lack a clear definition of themselves. They might well profit, then, from assertiveness training: "I think that to some extent. . . you have to be selfish about yourself. . . . Once you deal with survival issues, the other kinds of things you can do very readily." But black women, she added, have never been given the opportunity to reflect about themselves and to develop their own goals for self-fulfillment.

One participant mentioned the need to develop models which will have an impact on both the traditional and the nontraditional providers of services. She pointed out that middle-class white women have peer support groups to provide them with the encouragement that will enable them to go out and do things which they might not have the strength to do on their own. Black women, however, of whatever class lack such support groups. To be effective, then, any model should include mechanisms for developing support groups for black women consisting of other women who share some of the same values.

Another member of the group talked about personal development:

> I'm very interested in the ways in which you [Anne Pruitt] think we may be able to do something about ourselves. I'm particularly interested in the late adolescence; we may be able to do something to change that sense of efficacy, to make the black girl feel that she has some place to go when she graduates from high school. We know that unemployment among teenage black girls is higher than for any other group in the country, and we know that black girls get married and have children much faster--even if you control for social class--than do white girls. They don't establish themselves in the labor market, and I happen to wonder if they do not because there's no place to go. The labor market doesn't

offer them an opportunity to develop an identity. They do have an opportunity to develop an identity through marriage and childbearing.

In summary, the main points to emerge from the presentation and discussion of the Gurin and Pruitt paper were as follows:

- Counselors and other human resource workers must be prepared to help at any point in the development of black girls and women through instruction, consultation, and milieu management. In addition to traditional services, nontraditional services and support groups need to be created to foster the personal development, increase the self-confidence, and improve the job expectancies of black women.

- Given the real existence of racism, education is probably still the most viable route to improved occupational status and mobility for Blacks. The problems of racism and sexism--and of their internalization--are formidable, but with more power, black women may develop greater ability to change that which is currently regarded as unchangeable. Increased power may also lead to a greater sense of efficacy (i.e., being in control of one's own life.)

- Education needs to be more closely articulated with the job world and the job market.

The final paper on occupational needs was Isabel Sawhill's "Black Women Who Head Families: Economic Needs and Economic Resources," which relies heavily on analyses of recent Census data. Looking at the incomes of heads of households, Sawhill--like Gurin and Pruitt--found that black women heading families had the lowest incomes, followed by white women heading families, and then black men heading families. Families headed by white men were least likely to be living at the poverty level. Sawhill's data also indicated that experience (defined as length of time on the present job) was an important determinant of salary level. Women generally, and black women in particular, often have difficulty establishing themselves occupationally and accumulating experience on a job because of early marriage and childbearing, which may also interfere with their educational development. Moreover, the very high unemployment rate (38 percent) for teenage black girls means fewer economic resources to support families.

Subsequent discussion dealt first with the question of competency and "credentialing" in the world of work. The decision in the court case of Griggs vs. Duke Power Company implies that, in screening applicants for employment, employers may no longer use tests that do not directly measure the competencies required on the job. The consensus was that the entire area of credentialing in the labor force should be examined and that required credentials should be relevant to the occupation.

Another topic raised in the discussion was the kinds of changes that occur in an occupation when large numbers of minorities and women enter it. Generally, such occupations seem to undergo a loss of prestige and a downgrading. For instance, the whole character of the garment industry changed when men exited and women entered as primary workers: The most notable change was that wages dropped. Black women should be helped to develop more political sophistication for manipulating new situations. Here again, the techniques of consultation and milieu management may be valuable in teaching black women how to cope with matters so that the occupation they enter is not downgraded.

Problems connected with the information that counselors provide their clients--its accuracy, completeness, and relevance--were discussed. In many cases, better-quality information is needed by counsellors. Valid information may also be withheld, and alternative channels for obtaining information may not be available. Some of the kinds of information that counselors should have relate to:

- the effects of unionization on certain occupations, and
- the effects of rapid technological changes on certain occupations.

With respect to the latter, jobs are constantly being outmoded, automated out of existence, or created to fill new needs. Both teachers and counselors should be kept up-to-date on such changes so that they can advise clients accordingly. In addition, counselors need to know how to apply valid research data to individual cases. Unfortunately research findings are often presented in such a way as to make their application difficult.

The recent debate over the value of college education also surfaced. Some critics have argued that going to college is pointless because the college degree has lost its earlier economic value. No longer does the degree assure high earning power. Members of the group commented that while this may be true for the wider society, it does not hold for minority groups. Minorities still can improve their economic position through a college education, which will enable them to interpret what is going on in the world of work and to use that information in personally effective ways.

Participants made comments about two specific aspects of Sawhill's paper. First a distinction needs to be made between matrifocality and matriarchy. Sawhill replied that in the book from which much of her discussion is derived, the former term is used to describe the family structure; the emphasis is on the economics of that structure, rather than on power and authority.

The second comment from the group was that identifying illegitimacy in female-headed black families is of doubtful utility. Sawhill replied that it was important to mention the subject because of widespread belief

that a large number of very young women in the black community are bearing children outside of marriage, and that this is a major cause behind growing welfare rolls: "A lot of people talk in ignorance of what the data actually show. As long as we refuse to look at [the question], then there is a hazy sort of mythology floating around out there." It was agreed that "presence of children" should be used as a variable in research on the black family.

In summary, then, the chief recommendations to emerge from the presentation and discussion of Sawhill's paper were as follows:

- National policy on providing all citizens with a quality education is of prime importance. Governmental agencies concerned in any way with education should address the question of providing necessary funds to assure that all youth, irrespective of sex and race, have access to a quality education. These agencies should begin to increase their support incrementally.

- Research is needed on the following topics: the utilization of information; single-parent families, particularly as they are affected by the job market; the socialization of young black girls; the development of improved models for training counselors and others in the helping professions; the development of new kinds of services to foster the personal development of black girls and women; and exploration of the job options available to black girls and women.

Thus the research group, which began with a discussion of the education and socialization of young black girls, came full circle with a discussion of the impact of various educational institutions and the job market, with its institutionalized sexism and racism, on the development of young black girls into black women.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Group II convened finally to sort out the various conclusions and recommendations that had emerged during discussion of the papers. The recommendations can be divided into two categories: suggestions for specific research that might be undertaken by the Women's Research Program of NIE, and general recommendations.

Recommendations for Research

Specific studies that should be supported or conducted by NIE are as follows:

- A comprehensive three-year study of organizations and institutions as they process black girls and women. This project would

involve looking at various institutions--liberal arts colleges, professional schools, public and private agencies, industrial firms--with respect to their recruitment and admissions policies and practices; their retention of black females; their counseling services; their professional impact; their sources of funding; and their impact on the access and status of black females. In addition, the project would focus on developing and implementing models--at both predominantly black and predominantly white colleges--for adequate inclusion of black women in multiple roles. In this model-building phase, the competencies of faculty members, staff, and administrators responsible for carrying out policies would be assessed, as would the expectations, motivations, and aspirations of black women.

- Major research directed toward improving primary, secondary, and postsecondary education as it affects black women. Specifically, such studies would focus on counselor education with a view toward (a) eliminating present sexism and racism in training (preservice and in-service), (b) developing counselors who will act as change agents, and (c) teaching the strategies of consultation and milieu management. In addition, the education of teachers and of administrators would be considered.

- Research on the aspirations of black girls and on the role models they emulate in relation to their school performance.

- A comprehensive review of all existing research on black women, including that found in the Third World press.

- Research to develop manuals and other "how-to" tools for use in teaching and counseling black girls to (a) identify sources of power that affect their lives, (b) bring about changes to improve their lives. In addition, manuals should be developed to teach appropriate job-seeking behaviors for black girls and women.

- Longitudinal descriptions of the life cycles of contemporary black women.

- Ethnographic research on the lives of black girls and women.

- Theoretical, qualitative research aimed at identifying directions for future research.

- A project to review existing data banks and bases and to influence them to collect and report data by both race and sex. The project would also involve compiling a list of data banks, bases, and sources for distribution to black women researchers. (This

project should be emphasized as a special priority to federal data-collection agencies.)

General Recommendations

The general recommendations made by the researchers' group are as follows:

- The Women's Research Program of NIE might compile a list of the "gatekeepers" who prevent research from being published; might compile and disseminate, on a regular basis, an update of research, completed and in progress, on and by black females; and might monitor the research which gets cleared for the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) system. (This last task seems especially appropriate since the National Institute of Education administers ERIC.)

- Provision should be made for continued collaboration and dialogue among the conference participants.

- The Women's Research Program should communicate the outcomes of this conference to the participants and should identify the next steps to be taken as a result of the conference.

- NIE should make all efforts to hire black women in leadership positions at the Institute and to facilitate their retention.

The overriding recommendation to emerge from the conference as a whole is this one:

- Our job is not only to develop a research agenda for the Women's Research Program of NIE but also to identify research and action priorities for improving the lives of black women in America, priorities toward which the concerns of agencies, institutions, and scholars--particularly black female scholars--can be directed.

V. ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

ABSTRACT

SOCIALIZATION AND EDUCATION OF YOUNG BLACK GIRLS IN SCHOOL

Sara Lawrence Lightfoot

One of the great difficulties in documenting the early experiences of black girls in school is that this group has not been the focus of much social science research. In fact, young black girls are an ignored and invisible population in the research literature, which portrays the experience of only a narrow range of children: middle-class white girls. Most of the literature on racism in schools shows the same narrow, stereotyped vision, the focus being on the inadequacies and deviance of lower-class black children.

For indirect evidence of the socialization of black girls in their early schooling, one must turn to two existing bodies of literature: one dealing with the dynamics of teacher-child interaction in terms of sexism, and the other dealing with these interactions in terms of racism. A number of studies have been carried out in these areas, although their theoretical assumptions and methodological strategies have tended to exclude black girls from scientific scrutiny and policy agendas.

The author's own research has emphasized that the perspectives of teachers--their personal, cultural, and educational histories; their values, attitudes, beliefs, and goals; their professional skills and experiences--influence their pedagogical and procedural decisions, as well as the dynamic patterns of interaction and social structure which develop in the classroom.

Because the behavior, appearance, and attitudes of young black girls are perceived as alien and threatening to the more familiar mainstream images of the ideal middle-class white girl, most researchers have neglected the study of black girls or proceeded to rationalize the distorted stereotypes of them. To begin to record the lives and experiences of young black girls and to attack the contradictions and distortions that have encumbered a clear vision of them, one must recognize at the outset that the social, intellectual, and psychological growth and development of black girls are of critical importance to our society. Therefore, social science research must reflect their prominence, their potential, and their strengths rather than remaining preoccupied with their deprivation, their deviance, and their strangeness. It must seek to understand the social meaning of their cultural perspective. This is a sensitive research task that requires liberated minds. Minority women researchers, who are closest to the experience of young black girls, have the greatest potential for carrying out this inquiry.

Methodological strategies for documenting classroom life must include systematic and subtle observations of the social, cognitive, and psychological messages that are transmitted among children and between teachers and children. These strategies must be designed to record:

- the characteristics and structure of the classroom environment in which children and teachers find themselves,
- the roles and relations of the people involved in the educational process, and
- the activities people engage in, including the social and cognitive meaning of these interactions.

Observations of classroom life must be longitudinal, documenting the patterns and constellations of behaviors that evolve over time.

To interpret responsibly a specific teacher's behavior, the observer needs to know the history of interactions that preceded the behavior, the cognitive and social needs of the child with whom the teacher is communicating, and the teacher's perceptions of the social structure of the classroom. Unfortunately, research explorations of teacher discrimination have relied too heavily on limited evidence that has failed to record patterns and evolution of behavior over time, to consider the nature and norms of the classroom social system, and to recognize the dynamics and communications that may have no behavioral representation.

The conventional picture of classroom life has also been distorted by its neglect of children. For the most part, observational research has focused exclusively on the teacher's interactions with children, ignoring the child's initiatory or active role. The saliency of the teacher's presence is related not only to how much contact the teacher initiates but also to how the child shapes her world, with whom she chooses to communicate, and whom she chooses to exclude. The idea of the child as creator of her own environment is a relatively alien concept in the sociological and social-psychological literature on teacher expectations and classroom behavior. Yet people studying the early developmental patterns of children have been able to identify the child's role in defining her own experience and determining her own fate. Researchers point to the critical need to consider the role of children in the classroom--a role that is more than responsive. The child's role can also be aggressive, assertive, and initiatory.

A considerable amount of teaching and learning goes on among peers, without teacher direction or intervention. This is especially true of lower-class children, who are more accustomed to seeking help, support, and nurture from age mates and less likely to focus their attention on a

single, dominant adult. If one documents only the responses of children to teacher communications, one neglects the child's active role in the environment and ignores the dynamics of learning among children.

While these observational strategies are effective for documenting the experience of any child in the classroom, they seem especially important for recording the experience of black girls because this group is unlikely to follow dominant patterns of behavior or to be exclusively attuned to the teacher's centrality. The unique behavior style and interaction patterns of black girls will be recognized only within a comprehensive, longitudinal research design.

Finally, it is important to recognize that school is only one institution in the life of a child--one that may have minimal saliency and meaning to her development. Therefore, the social scientist interested in documenting the educational experience of black girls must move beyond the boundaries of formalized schooling and observe their behavior in a variety of settings. Many of the competencies and skills of black girls that may not emerge in the classroom environment will probably be revealed within the family, on the playground, in the church. Each of these social settings brings out a different set of behaviors and interactions that are all part of the education of children. To document the learning and growth of black girls, the researchers must follow them to their parts of the world: to the places where they feel comfortable and competent as well as to the settings where they experience powerlessness and deprivation.

ABSTRACT

TOWARD FULL EQUALITY: MORE JOB EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

Pamela Ann Roby

This paper addresses vocational education and women in general rather than black women specifically.

While college enrollment has been leveling off, vocational education is booming. State vocational and technical education enrollments increased from roughly 6.5 to 11.6 million between 1968 and 1972; over the same years, funding was more than doubled. Despite this considerable growth, and despite federal affirmative action laws, the vocational education needs of women have not been given serious attention. For example, in 1974, $40 million was appropriated for vocational education research and development under the authority of the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968; additional sums were appropriated by various federal and state agencies and private foundations. Yet little of this multimillion-dollar funding was devoted to projects directly related to the needs of women. Of the 93 federal projects funded in 1974, only one pertained directly to women. Of the fifty state offices of vocational education, only three are currently sponsoring substantial research to determine how vocational education might better serve the needs of women.

Very few women are being trained for the 20.1 million jobs that the National Planning Association estimates will be available by 1980 in what have been viewed as primarily male occupations, including the better-paying trades--industrial and technical jobs for which high schools now offer vocational courses with entry-level preparation. All the information that we have, however, suggests that--given a real choice--women would move into every level of the industrial hierarchy.

Lifting the educational barriers to women is no longer a matter of choice, but of law. Title XX of the federal Education Amendments of 1968 provides for the elimination of vocational school policies that discriminate on the basis of sex. Nonetheless, sex discrimination, whether deliberate or unintended, still exists.

Both internalized and institutional barriers operate against women in vocational education. For example, a girl considering a career in what has been viewed as a masculine occupation must overcome her own early socialization in which she was taught that traits such as physical and intellectual prowess and problem-solving ability are masculine.

Internalized barriers to women are buttressed by institutional barriers: those organizational patterns and practices that hinder the

efforts of girls to obtain preparation for technical jobs, the trades, and industry. Among the institutional barriers that might be cited are admissions practices that exclude girls from traditionally male vocational courses and pregnant girls from vocational education of any type; the absence of women from the faculties and administrations of vocational schools except in home economics and business skills; inadequate job counseling for girls; inadequate program publicity, acessibility, and counseling at the postsecondary level, and inadequate child care facilities.

Some of the effects of these two kinds of barriers are manifested in the following statistics: First, of the 6.4 million women and girls enrolled in public vocational programs across the country in 1972, 49 percent were being trained in home economics and another 28 percent in office practices. Second, during 1972-73, although nearly equal numbers of men and women were secondary-level vocational educators, men and women teachers were distributed differently among the eight major teaching areas. Female teachers were concentrated in home economics, office and business, and health.

The law now states that women may participate fully and equally in the labor market. The industrial and social fabric of this nation requires that women be offered training to qualify for full participation and to be self-supporting. To fulfill the federal mandate, all types of vocational education must now be extended to women.

Funding is needed for research and development projects that will:

- determine the most effective means of recruiting women from different backgrounds into a wide variety of vocational programs which are stereotypically male--and of keeping them in these programs;
- determine the most effective means of assisting women in making the transition from vocational school to high-paying jobs which have traditionally employed few or no women;
- determine the availability of vocational education for pregnant teenagers;
- analyze the content of all vocational education texts, and of counseling and curricular materials for the existence of sexism;
- develop nonsexist textbooks and other curricular and counseling materials for every area of vocational education;

- survey male and female elementary, junior high, and senior high school students to determine in what areas boys and girls have different amounts of information about occupations;

- survey persons of one sex in vocational education programs and jobs traditionally considered the prerogative of the other sex to learn what overt and covert barriers they encounter;

- determine the effects of different forms of vocational counseling on female students with varying backgrounds, needs, and problems;

- identify--through a series of experimental demonstration research projects--the means by which counselors and teachers may best help elementary, junior high, and high school girls to consider a wide range of traditionally male as well as traditionally female job possibilities; to select courses which have long-range usefulness; and to evaluate the desirability of postsecondary education;

- determine the process by which females from age 5 to age 55 and from various racial, ethnic, geographic, cultural, and economic backgrounds make career decisions;

- create measures of career development based on samples which include adequate numbers of women and minorities of various backgrounds as well as majority males and follow the samples through their later career development in order to determine the usefulness of the measures;

- determine means of encouraging and enabling more women to develop and submit proposals for research and development funds;

- determine the most effective means of informing elementary school and vocational education students about the changing career patterns of women, the implications of manpower projections for students' occupational choices, and federal and state equal employment laws;

- determine the most effective means of educating parents, community, and business groups about the need to open traditionally male occupations to women;

- survey female vocational graduates in a variety of traditional and nontraditional jobs about how their vocational instruction and counseling might have been improved and how it has benefited them;

- determine the most effective means of teaching female students how to look for, apply for, and begin non-traditional jobs; and

- determine the effectiveness of various simulated work samples and problems from traditionally male jobs in familiarizing female students with various types of work and in allowing them to assess their interests and abilities with respect to various types of work.

The appendix of this paper contains suggested amendments to the federal Vocational Education Amendments of 1968, as well as recommendations addressed specifically to the U.S. Commissioner of Education for data collection and dissemination aimed at improving the effectiveness of vocational education for women.

ABSTRACT

PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS AND THEIR IMPACT UPON BLACK WOMEN

Ethelrine Shaw

Professional schools have had very little impact on the educational preparation of black women. This paper discusses the appropriateness, adequacy, and effectiveness of professional schools, defined as higher-degree-granting institutions which prepare persons for occupations requiring general and special education and which were established to fulfill societal needs.

The following statements summarize the current situation.

- In the autumn quarter of 1975, black students constituted only 5.1 percent of the enrollment at Ohio State University. If Ohio State is typical of American universities, this figure becomes very significant when one considers that in 1975 Blacks represented approximately 11 percent of the general population.

- Even though black women enter college in roughly the same or often larger proportions than do black men, black men are more likely to receive an advanced degree beyond the master's.

- A survey of black students enrolled in graduate schools shows that black students are concentrated in education, the health professions, and the basic social sciences, with relatively few being enrolled in engineering, the life sciences, and the mathematical sciences.

- Contrary to popular opinion, there are not many black women in nursing. Proportionately, however, more black women than white women have Ph.D.'s in nursing.

- In 1969, higher educational institutions employed more black women with doctorates than did government, social agencies, or industry.

- In 1972, only a small proportion of black women and men in the work force were practicing in selected professions.

Descriptive information on black women students as a group is virtually nonexistent; they are usually grouped either with women or with blacks rather then being treated as a separate subgroup. Thus

research is badly needed on the admission, progress, and degree completion rates of black women in professional education program.

Civil rights legislation has not significantly changed the attitude of professional schools which continue to maintain closed membership practices toward black women students. Institutions of higher education must implement and improve their affirmative action programs and must develop strategies for determining appropriate indicators of student achievement to be used in admissions.

Programs developed to facilitate the admission, progress, and graduation of minorities from the higher education system have primarily focused on changing the minority student. The focus should be shifted to structuring the process and evaluating the outcomes of the curricula used in professional schools. We must begin to look at institutions as social organizations rather than simply looking at minority students as they enter, progress, and graduate from these institutions. Criteria for admission, progress, and graduation are usually established and monitored by the faculty. Thus, strategies must be developed to study the behavior of the faculty in relation to program participants. In addition, models should be developed for evaluating the structure and processes of professional schools in terms of their impact on outcomes for black women.

Black women students in professional schools often experience considerable frustration and disenchantment. Studies are needed on the characteristics and perceptions of black women who apply but are not admitted to professional schools, of those who are admitted and do not complete the program, and of those who receive degrees.

Black women are almost nonexistent on higher education faculties. As a first step to increasing their numbers, the factors affecting the employment, salaries, and promotion of black women faculty at institutions of higher education should be analyzed.

Professional schools are monitored not only by groups within the university but also by external groups. Evaluation models should be developed to assist these external groups in evaluating the programs and the graduates of these schools.

External to the university are state legislative bodies, accrediting bodies, and state boards of registration, education, and licensure. Strategies should be developed to assure that criteria for accreditation and items on written examinations reflect a multiracial society.

Finally, the black woman professional has virtually no public image, and this lack of visibility keeps black professional women from serving as role models for black youth. Accurate research should be done on the life styles and perceptions of black women professionals as they progress through academic institutions and in their professional lives.

ABSTRACT

COUNSELING IMPLICATIONS OF BLACK WOMEN'S MARKET POSITION, ASPIRATIONS, AND EXPECTANCIES

Patricia Gurin and Anne Pruitt

This paper discusses and presents data on four topics: the market position of black women; ways in which black women have tried to alter their situations in a discriminatory market; the occupational and educational aspirations of women in college; and the role of expectancies in the work motivation of black women. The implications of these data for the educational and vocational counseling of black women are then drawn.

Typical presentations of sex and race differentials in occupational positions and wages have contributed to, rather than corrected, the erroneous notion that black women have an advantage in the job market. The error occurs because sex discrimination and race discrimination have been treated as totally separate phenomena. Analyses of race discrimination compare the earnings of Blacks and whites, controlling for sex, and conclude that black men experience more discrimination than black women, whereas analyses of sex discrimination compare the earnings of women and men, controlling for race, and conclude that white women experience more discrimination than black women. Thus, one of the problems in drawing accurate conclusions about the employment status of black women is the shifting baseline of comparison: Black women are the only group never compared with white men, who hold the jobs and earn the highest salaries. To identify accurately the market position of black women, the occupational indices and salaries of white men must be used as the baseline of comparison. The double discrimination against black women--because of their race and because of their sex--would then become obvious.

Data from national studies indicate that black women (along with black men and white women) do not differ significantly from white men with respect to achievement motivation, work-ethic values, and similar personal characteristics. What distinguishes them from the dominant white male majority are "motivational supply characteristics," including expectancies of success in the job market and the sense of being able to control the outcomes of their own lives. These are lower among black women (and black men and white women) than among white men. Expectancies apparently play a role in the black woman's handling of unemployment, her desire for job change, and her chances of shifting from the role of housewife to that of paid worker. Since expectancies alter market behavior, black women need to be helped to change their expectancies. They would behave differently and express higher aspirations if they felt their chances for success were greater.

Expectations and labor force participation must be viewed against the backdrop of the sociopsychological setting in which black women grow up. Counselors must realize that black women do not experience life the same way as whites. Information about the lives of black women may strike at the very heart of the white middle-class values held by most counselors, including black counselors who, through a process of "anticipatory socialization," internalize modal American values.

Occupational barriers and channeling are major mechanisms by which black women end up earning less than either white or black men. Movement out of service occupations into clerical jobs is the major explanation offered by market analysts for the improved earnings of black women, relative to white women, between the mid-1960s and the early 1970s. Occupational channeling is far more important than education per se. In the sense that education helps black women--and everyone else--attain better occupational positions, it has some effect on income. But education per se has little significance unless it is translated into clerical, managerial, or professional jobs. Evidence to date shows that the translation is by no means automatic and that black women, like black men and white women, cannot capitalize on their educational achievements as readily as can white men.

Referring to data from studies of students attending historically black colleges (conducted by Gurin and Edgar Epps), the authors note that, contrary to widespread belief, black women were no more likely than black men to aspire to advanced degrees and high-level jobs and much less liekly to expect to actualize these aspirations. The conclusion is not that black women in college are poorly motivated but that they have been influenced by sex-role constraints that limit their expectations. If highly educated black women are to realize their potential for educational and occupational achievement, these constraints must be overcome.

In a similar study of the occupational aspirations of male and female students in historically black colleges, it was found that the jobs which women regarded as most desirable were regarded, by women and by men, as according less status and requiring less ability and talent than the jobs which men found most attractive. The same gross sex differences appeared in a parallel study of the actual job choices of men and women.

Implications for Counseling

Career development is complex. Although influenced by labor force information, it is also responsive to the influence of peers, teachers, and parents and to a host of other experiences. Career development is a process, not an act. The individual makes a series of career related decisions, beginning early in childhood and extending through retirement.

Goals for black women reflect the goals for all: choice, effectiveness, individuality, and fulfillment. The question is, what kind of guidance activity will facilitate the achievement of these goals?

Since the area in which guidance counselors function is broad, and the procedures available to them diverse, the authors recommend use of the Student Development Model for Tomorrow's Higher Education (T.H.E.), currently being developed by the American College Personnel Association, as a framework for constructing the responses that can be made to the needs of black women. The T.H.E. model calls upon the counselor to be skilled in the competencies of goal-setting, individual assessment, and three specific strategies for student development: instruction, consultation, and milieu management. The following discussion shows how this model can be applied to serve the career needs of black women:

Goal-Setting

An illustration of goal-setting is helping the black woman to identify specific behaviors that are desired or should be changed: for example, determining whether she wishes to major in civil engineering or some other nontraditional field, and what is required to do so.

Goal-setting activities must recognize sociopsychological characteristics which may influence the attainment of goals and objectives. Making explicit the market problems of black women sometimes arouses charged feelings because discussion of sex discrimination as one source of market constraint for black women is viewed by some as politically divisive at a time when black men and women must stand together to attack the race discrimination that they both experience. On the other hand, the popular but incorrect view that black women have escaped sex discrimination--and, indeed, have fared better economically than black men--encourages an invidious characterization of both black men and black women. The inequities black men face come from race discrimination, not from peculiar market advantages enjoyed by black women. If goal-setting and affirmative action programs are to be effective in addressing the market problems of black women, counselors must be aware of distortions in common ideas about black women's economic position and must help black women to understand that their educational and occupational advancement does not necessarily threaten the status and mobility of black men.

How should goal-setting activities with Blacks use the fact that occupational channeling is the critical mechanism by which job and wage discrimination occurs? Counseling and educational programs should try to articulate education and career placement more closely, emphasizing training programs that include placement in higher-paying jobs.

Individual Assessment

Illustrative of individual assessment used in educational and career counseling is the selection, administration, and interpretation of standardized tests, usually measures of ability, aptitudes, and interests. Results are often used to predict the probability of academic and career success. Problems incident to the misuse of test results derive from a failure to recognize how race and sex influence scores. Counselors of black women ought to be alert to the drawbacks of traditional tests and, therefore, ought to use the results to describe and prescribe learning experiences and environments.

Instruction

The role of instructor gives counselors the opportunity to teach black women facts about minimum wages and fair labor standards, the role of labor unions in the labor force, hierarchical classifications of occupations, lines of progression that lead to promotion, and so forth. Research suggests that black teenage girls are not nearly so knowledgeable as white girls about these matters. Career education, a rapidly growing development in the schools, provides a vehicle for curricular treatment of these topics.

In the role of instructor, counselors need to provide reality-based successes and skills training. Increasing expectancies involves more than exhorting black women to "believe they can do it." They need actual successes. They need to be armed with the appropriate job-performance and job-seeking skills so that they know they are qualified for specific jobs which biased employers might otherwise discourage them from seeking. They need to understand what the market alternatives are and how to maximize their chances of getting jobs and of being promoted. These skills will differ depending on the kinds of jobs that women with different levels of education may be counseled to consider.

Counseling should provide role models for black women. High schools, colleges, and other agencies that counsel black girls and women can maximize the efficacy of this procedure not only by transporting successful models to them, or vice versa, but also by seeing to it that black women are hired and retained in responsible, non-traditional positions all around them.

Counselors need to teach black women values-clarification procedures, personal and group decision-making skills, and life-work planning.

Assertiveness training should be provided, with the understanding that black women who learn assertive skills are not forced to use them in every situation. The value of such skills is that, once the individual learns them, failure to be assertive derives from choice, not from fear.

Consulting

As a consultant, the counselor can influence others who have the power to block or facilitate black women's development. The school is an important target for attention. Counselors must be willing to confront and challenge racist and sexist attitudes in textbooks and counseling materials; they should conduct workshops designed to change the attitudes and practices of school personnel. Teachers should examine their attitudes about the potential of the black woman if they are to inspire her to do her best.

Faculty members ought to understand the nature of career development. If, because of limitations of time and competence, teachers prefer not to enter into an extended counseling relationship, they should refer students to a professional counselor.

Another significant target is the family. There is no question that the family is a critical breeding ground for the development of attitudes about one's sex role. Through individual consultation with parents and interaction with community groups such as neighborhood organizations and parent-teacher associations, counselors can help these significant persons in a girl's life to understand how the "messages" they send her influence her motivations and aspirations.

Consulting may not be a traditional counseling competence, and counselors may not be formally trained to use their knowledge and expertise in helping groups such as faculties, families, and curriculum committees to achieve desired human development objectives. There are compelling reasons, however, why they must be able to function this way: it multiplies their ability to affect the target group and maximizes the value of persons who are significant in the lives of black girls and women.

Milieu Management

In many ways, skills in consulting spill over into the third strategy, milieu management. This competency calls upon counselors to be social engineers. It implies active intervention and environmental manipulation in the interests of changing the opportunity structures in which black women develop.

One dimension of milieu management involves the environment of the academic institution. Research indicates that the college "climate" has a powerful impact on student development and behavior. Faculty members and women students should pursue ideas beyond the classroom through visits to faculty homes, the sharing of meals, informal student-faculty discussions, and other social occasions.

Colleges also need an overlap of classroom and residential groups. When the members of a class share the same living arrangements, it is likely they will discuss ideas advanced in the classroom and establish a dynamic flow from teacher through some students to other students. Therefore, when women faculty are leaders, women students are the winners.

Another dimension of milieu management is social activism. Discrimination by employers seems to be more powerful than the black woman's aspirations in explaining her market position. Therefore, employers must change their discriminatory hiring and promotion policies. Also, they can create within the work setting an atmosphere that enables black women to take advantage of affirmative action activities and court decisions.

Milieu management can be turned to the service of graduate education. Historically, discrimination has set boundaries on what black students could achieve by way of admission to and success in professional and graduate schools. Blackwell's recommendations on methods of attacking the access problems of Blacks are pertinent here:*

1. Exert continued pressure on all persons in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and in the Department of Justice responsible for enforcing the laws and court decisions relative to higher education.

2. Accelerate the pace of recruitment into graduate and professional schools, and begin the process as early as possible.

3. Increase the level of financial assistance to black graduate and professional school students.

4. Since critical shortages of Blacks in medicine, law, and dentistry will continue to exist in the foreseeable future, every effort should be made to accelerate the recruitment of Blacks into these fields.

5. Black students should be encouraged to diversify their fields of study at graduate and semi-professional levels.

6. Rejected applicants from graduate and professional schools should, wherever the potential is manifest, be counseled continually in order to pinpoint their weaknesses and identify what is required to gain admission to graduate and professional schools.

7. Whenever black students are admitted to graduate and/or professional schools under the rubric of "special admission," and if

*James E. Blackwell, Access of Black Students to Graduate and Professional Schools (Atlanta, Ga.: Southern Education Foundation, 1975), pp. 57-60.

"special admission" connotes academic deficiencies, the admitting institution has the first responsibility to provide whatever academic support services are necessary for assisting such students to eliminate those deficiencies and then to be reclassified as a regularly admitted student.

8. Encourage equity in the availability of professors and other academic resources to black students enrolled in graduate and professional schools.

9. Encourage equity in grading and in the academic preparation of all students.

10. Major studies should be undertaken which examine:

    a. retention and attrition in graduate and professional schools;

    b. comparative success/failure rates of black and white professional graduates in bar examinations and medical boards, and in being certified by Boards of Examiners in architecture and in other fields requiring state certification;

    c. access of black faculty, administrators and staff to graduate and professional school employment.

In addition, the following recommendations, from a 1975 position paper prepared by the College Placement Council* on the question of career education in the liberal arts college are made:

College and Universities

Make available a broader selection of elective courses that would benefit liberal arts graduates in a work environment.

Provide opportunities for all types of experiential education (cooperative education programs, scheduled part-time and intermittent work-learn experience internships).

Introduce a career-planning course and encourage students to take it no later than the sophomore year.

Involve faculty members as specialized career advisors.

*College Placement Council. "Four Year Liberal Arts Graduates: Their Utilization in Business, Industry, and Government--The Problem and Some Solutions." A position statement, 1975.

Employers

Reexamine job specifications, bearing in mind that a basic liberal arts education produces a person who is capable of growth and who is educable in a continuing sense.

Participate actively in cooperative education, internship, and career information programs.

Give financial support to areas clearly identified with career-planning objectives.

Federal Government

Provide additional financial assistance for career-counseling programs and cooperative-education experiences at colleges and universities.

Intensify efforts to develop and disseminate information on occupational trends.

Create more career materials for college students, utilizing all media.

Students

Take advantage of career-planning programs early, preferably by the sophomore year.

Select a minor or elective courses that will demonstrate interest in business, industry, and government.

Take part in experiential programs offered by colleges and employers.

Recognize that, once employed, progress will depend upon continuing education and training.

Counselor Education

In order for counselors to function in ways that are appropriate to the development of black women, they must understand what self-fulfillment means to black women and how it is related to theories of career development.

In summary, counselors and people with responsibility for educational and training programs must understand the market position of black women as well as the role of expectancies in their educational and occupational aspirations and in their market behavior. The role of competent counselors is vital in producing change. Without the full involvement, skill, and dedication of these persons who understand career development and ways to

facilitate it, there is little chance of change. Whether counselors work with individual black women and girls or with groups, confine their activities to the traditional settings or become activists, the ultimate urgencies will prevail, and the ultimate outcomes should emerge: choice, effectiveness, individuality, and fulfillment for black women.

ABSTRACT

BASELINE DATA ON MID-CAREER CHANGE AND REENTRY PROGRAMS FOR BLACK WOMEN

Beatrice Abel Cossey and Glen O. Toney

The purpose of this study was to gather baseline data on black women who were currently employed or who had reentered a training or educational program involving direct job opportunities. In this study, black professional women were defined as those who had worked at an occupation for a period of more than two years. This special definition was used because in American society black people typically have disrupted work histories and thus black women must accept jobs for short time-spans. A black woman who had worked for more than two years as, for instance, a food handler or a beautician, would qualify as a black professional woman under this definition.

Fifteen black professional women's organizations in the State of California were invited to participate in the study, and nine agreed. Questionnaires were sent to 100 women randomly selected from their rolls. Seven colleges which have women's reentry programs also participated, and questionnaires were sent to 100 black female students randomly selected from their rolls. Two questionnaires were developed: one for black professional women, and one for black women in reentry programs.

Replies were received from 48 black professional women and 58 black women in reentry programs. From these replies, the following conclusions may be drawn:

- Child care was not a major concern for either black professional women or black reentry women.
- Over one-third of the black professional women had been considered low achievers in high school.
- Close to half of the respondents in both groups said they were not receiving psychological reinforcement from their husbands or male friends.
- College administrators and faculty members were insensitive to the problems of black reentry women and appeared to be racist and sexist in their attitudes toward them.
- Peers and black faculty members gave black reentry women the most help at school, whereas counselors and white faculty members were the least helpful.

- Tutorial programs provided few if any resources for black reentry students.

The data suggest that college administrators and counselors have little understanding of the problems of black women. In addition, traditional degree programs have in the past been deficient and have not attracted black women. Educators, therefore, must be reeducated; the proposed target population must be reeducated as well, both academically and attitudinally. This reeducation requires a nontraditional approach.

On the basis of the findings of this study, the authors recommend the following:

- An in-depth study should be conducted to assess employment opportunities for black women in the United States.
- An in-depth analysis of the employment of black women--the kind of careers they are in, their level of satisfaction, and their desire for further training--should be carried out.
- Administrators at major colleges and universities should study the Women's Reentry Program proposed by Beatrice Cossey in Concept of Women's Re-entry Educational Programs (Educational Resources Information Centers, Vol. 9, No. 11, November 1974, p. 25) and should consider implementing such a program at their institutions.
- Funds should be allocated immediately to retrain counseling, administrative, and tutorial personnel, on the basis of the data reviewed in this paper.

ABSTRACT

BLACK WOMEN WHO HEAD FAMILIES
ECONOMIC NEEDS AND ECONOMIC RESOURCES

Isabel V. Sawhill

In recent years, the number and proportion of Black families headed by women has been growing. In 1965, the proportion was 24 percent; in 1970 it was 28 percent. And in 1965, of the estimated five and a half million Black families in the United States, two million, or 35 percent, were headed by a woman.

Census data for 1974 show that the median income of Black female headed families was $4,465 and that 53 percent of these families were poor. By way of contrast, the percentage of households living in poverty was 25 percent for white families headed by women, 14 percent for Black families headed by men and 5 percent for white families headed by men.

This paper examines some aspects of the fundamental imbalance between the economic needs and economic resources of Black women who head families. Urbanization, early marriage, early childbearing, and male unemployment are discussed as major factors contributing to the recent growth in Black female-headed families.

Employment status, education, work experience and discrimination based on race and sex are discussed as the major factors contributing to the low income of Black female-headed families. Welfare benefits, generally not available to husband-wife families, are also identified as providing a perverse incentive for low income female-headed families to maintain either the fiction or the reality of being unmarried.

The statistics presented in this paper make it clear that Black women who head families have the greatest economic needs and the fewest resources. Ms. Sawhill makes the following suggestions on appropriate policies which might be pursued in an effort to bridge the gap between the needs and resources of this group.

- Poverty is no less real where there are two parents living together than where there is only one. Welfare reforms are needed which would provide income supplements to all low-income families, not just those headed by women.

- The women most in need of more education are not the young women just coming into the job market, but the older cohorts who have already spent many years in the labor force. Older, uneducated Black women should be provided with some relatively generous income transfers

to compensate for their current economic plight and a long history of discrimination. These benefits should not be race or sex-specific, but clearly they would have the greatest impact on Black women.

- Counseling and vocational education which will encourage women to enter higher-paying (traditionally male) occupations is an especially critical need.

- Research needs to address the extent to which Black women are currently being channeled into lower-paying service and white collar jobs.

- In-depth research should be conducted and disseminated on the economic and social consequences of early childbearing (including constrained educational opportunities) for both children and their parents. The dissemination of this information might impact the choices which young people make in these areas.

ABSTRACT

POLICY ISSUES ON DAY CARE: THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF BLACK WORKING WOMEN

Betti S. Whaley and Toye B. Lewis

Most mothers who work do so out of sheer economic necessity. Whether white or black, families headed by women have much lower incomes than do families headed by men. According to the Bureau of Census:

> The median income for all families in 1974 was $17,836; the median income for all black families was $7,808. But the median income of the family headed by a black woman was only $4,465.

The growth rate in the proportion of female-headed families with children has been accelerating in recent years. Nationally, over 30 percent of black households are now headed by women.

This paper discusses the special child care needs of black women who are heads of families and analyzes the factors which contribute to the current crisis in the delivery of adequate child care services. This crisis is epitomized in the case of New York City's Agency for Child Development, which chiefly serves families headed by single black women. In November 1975, this agency conducted a survey whose results indicated that parents believed the following kinds of services might be especially helpful to them:

- Support counseling: One-on-one and small-group sessions as an outlet for ventilating problems, identifying pressures and clarifying life styles.
- Consumer information and education
- Cooperatives: food, extended child care services, housing, transporation, etc.
- Recreational and vocational pursuits
- Educational opportunities and services
- Transportation services and opportunities to "get away"

Three critical issues currently confront public policy-makers concerned with the care of young children. The first is the question of criteria for eligibility: Which families shall be served? The second is the requirement that long-term day care be developmental,

not merely custodial. The third is consideration of the role of parents in day care programs.

This nation can no longer, in good conscience, expect the woman who heads a family and who must work full time to support herself and her children to assume full responsibility for the complex developmental needs of her children and to satisfy her own requirements for self-actualization. The problem is not unique to black families.

It is imperative that public attention be focused on the needs of working mothers and that this attention be formalized into new policies by the government, private social services, business, industry, and labor unions. These new policies must have objectives such as the provision of comprehensive social and educational services for working women and comprehensive developmental services for their children.

For years those who saw the damage we were doing to our air and water cried out to the government for a halt to the devastation. As a result, our natural resources now receive federal protection, and every federal proposal is scrutinized to ensure that protection. Similarly, a family impact statement, the precursor to a national family policy, would acknowledge the real needs of children and families.

ABSTRACT

HEALTH ISSUES FACING BLACK WOMEN

Inez Smith Reid

The health of the black community in general, and that of the economically poor black community in particular, have been inexcusably neglected in the United States. According to one source, "primary medical care has been neither as available nor as accessible to Negroes because of racial discrimination and the cultural patterns it engenders. Private hospitals and community service organizations have made some provisions for care of indigent Caucasians, but indigent Negroes have explicitly or implicitly been excluded to a great extent."* The health problems of cancer, sterilization, hypertension, alcoholism, and depression leading to suicide--and their effects on the black community, especially the black female community--are discussed in this paper.

Cancer among Blacks is a critical health problem. While the nation was focusing its attention on sickle cell anemia, a disease which accounts for relatively few deaths in the black community, Blacks were dropping like flies from death by cancer. In fact, Blacks are dying of most forms of cancer faster than whites, and the rate of death by cancer among black women has been increasing even faster than the rate among white women. Further, while white women are more likely to develop breast cancer than are black women, black women are more likely to die of breast cancer than are white women. Of equally great concern is the incidence of cervical cancer among low-income black women. Cancer of the cervix, combined with preinvasive cancer of the cervix, may be the most common malignancy found in black women.

Sterilization and medical experimentation on black women are other areas of great concern. Data from the 1970 National Fertility Study reveal that black women have been subjected to more contraceptive operations than white women. Although it is not known how many of those contraceptive operations constituted involuntary sterilization, it is known that involuntary, coercive sterilizations have been performed on black women for decades. Uninformed sterilizations are more likely to occur among poor black women who are patients in city hospitals. In the early 1970s, two suits were brought by the American Civil Liberties Union against various parties in North Carolina for their role in the sterilization of four black women. Acting under Chapter 35, Article 7 of the North Carolina General Statutes which permits "sterilization of persons mentally defective," the Eugenics Board of North Carolina

*Thomas R. Walters, Martha Bushore, Joseph Simone, "Poor Prognosis in Negro Children with Acute Lymphocytic Leukemia," Cancer, Vol. 29, No. 1 (January 1972), pp. 210-214.

ordered the sterilization of 1,620 people during the period 1960 to 1968. The overwhelming majority--1,583--of those sterilized were females, 1,023 of whom were Black. The guidelines issued by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare prohibiting uninformed-consent sterilizations merely represent a desired state; they do not guarantee its automatic existence. Two important questions arise from the controversy over sterilizing indigent females, especially those who are black. First, if state laws permit sterilization of the mentally retarded, are those sterilized under the law really mentally retarded? Second, even if an individual is mentally retarded, should sterilization be imposed?

Various examples can be given of highly questionable medical experimentation on Blacks: one is abuses in the use of the drug Depo-Provera; another is an experiment in which twenty pregnant, mostly young, black women were used to test a "super coil," a new mechanism used to induce abortions.

Hypertension and alcoholism are other diseases which exact a heavy toll on the black community. Although between 15 and 20 percent of the American population suffer from hypertension, the rate among Blacks is twice that of whites. In 1971, alcoholism alone accounted for 1,203 black deaths, 915 of them male. In the same year, cirrhosis of the liver struck down 2,757 men and 1,713 women; of these, alcoholic cirrhosis was the cause of death for 1,310 men and 705 women. These statistics suggest that, perhaps in larger numbers than realized, Blacks are beset by severe societal pressures with which they cannot cope and for which they cannot find adequate treatment.

While suicide is not now a major problem in the black community, between 1960 and 1970, black suicides and attempted suicides in two areas--San Francisco, California, and Highland Park, Michigan--increased significantly. Another significant statistic is the 1970 suicide rate of black women in the 20-24 age category in California: 30.2 per 100,000.

For black Americans, especially the poor, health care borders on the criminal. To improve the health of the black community, a massive citizen health education effort is required, an effort that will involve not only federal and private agencies but citizens themselves.

ABSTRACT

THE MEDIA AND THEIR EFFECT ON BLACK WOMEN

Beth Rawles

Certain myths, images, and stereotypes of Blacks have existed in American minds since the late 1800s. These images have become so ingrained and internalized in our language and thought patterns that they influence not only what non-Blacks think about Blacks but also, to some degree, what Blacks think about themselves. This paper traces the history of the development and reinforcement of these images in the print media, the electronic media, and the movies.

Since the 1800s, a struggle for media reform has been going on in the black community. Some 40 black publications were in existence before the Civil War, fighting valiantly against racial discrimination on all fronts, from lynching to politics. The struggle continues and has grown to encompass a wide variety of organizations and alternate systems of communication which try to provide services to both black people and the white-controlled media.

After World War II, the black newspaper faded in importance, and the black magazine took over. Many such magazines and professional journals now serve a vital function in a country where the majority of white-controlled media do not, or cannot, relate to the needs of black people.

As a result of the renewed Civil Rights struggle, more Blacks are being hired by white magazines in an effort to make their reporting of black issues and news more accurate. But according to Time (April 6, 1970):

> Although the number of Black journalists in the U.S. has increased over the past decade, less than 5 percent of all reporters and photographers are Black. There is only one Black syndicated columnist. There are no Black managing editors on white publications.

The Great Depression--and the subsequent lack of capital--ended the first phase of independent black film-making, which had developed during the early '20s and '30s after the release of Birth of a Nation. The Civil Rights struggle provided the impetus for a new group of black film-makers. The films being made by Blacks today present the same black stereotypes as those of white film-makers. It is to be hoped that, as black film-makers begin to respond to the black public's demand for quality, their films will depict a much wider range of black images, and in greater depth.

The "double jeopardy" of being Black and female is nowhere more evident than in the area of mass communications, where the achievements, accomplishments, and struggles of the black woman are doubly invisible; moreover, when her image is seen, it is almost always doubly distorted and doubly negative. The black woman, through media imagery, has been victimized by the socialization process of being "shown and told" until she perceives herself as the antithesis of the American ideal: the blond, blue-eyed woman with attractive, regular features and a shapely body.

The accepted behavioral role for a woman in American society is still the image of housewife and mother. Statistics show that the black woman cannot approach this ideal either. According to 1970 Census data, only 42 percent of all black women were married with spouse present, which means that the majority of black women were divorced, separated, widowed, or single.

Until July 1972, when Benjamin L. Hooks became the first Black to serve on the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), little was accomplished in the way of reform in radio and TV from the standpoint of black people. With the appointment of Commissioner Hooks, Blacks stepped up their reform efforts by pressuring mainstream media to deal with institutional racism and by setting up means to service their own needs. Today there are two black radio networks in operation: the Mutual Black Network, the oldest, and the National Black Network.

Through the National Black Media Coalition, citizen action groups are beginning to have an impact on news and public affairs programming on the local level, thanks to negotiation and the threat of a challenge to the broadcaster's license. But until a greater number of black people become owners of mass communication systems or are employed at policy and decision-making levels within the mainstream media, concrete and lasting changes will not be made in the presentation of black images.

Identifying with the image of white femininity is an exercise in self-hate for black women. Identifying with the images of black femininity as portrayed by the media is just as bad. Positive models of black womanhood do not have to be invented. Their cultural past, in both African and American history, offers many positive images and models, information on which must be unearthed, collected, categorized, interpreted, published, and disseminated. Such an undertaking could have widespread effects resulting in the development of mainstream media projects that give balanced, in-depth, positive portrayals of black women and their contribution to history.

In the final analysis, it is not the fault of the media that bigoted attitudes and prejudices exist; those have been with us for centuries. Nonetheless, the media reflect and reinforce the myths and stereotypes which feed these attitudes and misinform whites about Blacks, as well as miseducating Blacks about Blacks.

VI. APPENDIX

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